FOODWAYS OF THE MID-18TH CENTURY CAPE: ARCHAEOLOGICAL CERAMICS FROM THE GRAND PARADE IN CENTRAL CAPE TOWN

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ABSTRACT

The principal intention of this thesis was to study the archaeologically excavated remains from the site of the Grand Parade in central Cape Town. The main lines of argument are centred around the question of the ceramics and how these can be interpreted to add to the knowledge of everyday life at the Cape. This involved excavation of the site, a descriptive report on the site, formulating a typological system of classification relevant to the sample, and interpretation of the ceramic data, considering its context within the local ceramic tradition and the overarching historical background of the Cape. The typological framework used in the ceramic analysis is largely based on the work by Mary Beaudry and others and the interpretive style draws heavily on the ideas about the food domain postulated by Anne Yentsch.

A social history paradigm has been used to study the nature of the local evidence, to investigate how the excavated ceramics can be used to inform in one of the most basic cultural traditions involving the foodways of early Capetonians. It has been found: that the typological framework for the ceramic analysis set out in this thesis, is successful in interpreting the ceramics; that the ideological functions of the ceramics remain a less tangible aspect of recreating the past; that although the local foodway tradition of the mid-18th century continues to be a complicated web of cultural interactions, through the use of a multi-disciplinary approach, the archaeological evidence can be successfully integrated with the faunal, inventory and other documentary sources; and that all the aforementioned are crucial to a better, more holistic understanding of the local Cape foodway tradition of the mid-18th century.

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I am indebted to the principals, teachers and Heads of Archaeology Departments from the following institutions for the recruitment and selection of the local excavation crew : Westerford High School, Fish Hoek High School, Table View High School, Langa Comprehensive School, Settlers High School, Lentegeur High School, Groote Schuur High School, Portlands High School, Jan van Riebeeck High School, the University of the Western Cape, the University of Cape Town, the University of South Africa and the University of Stellenbosch.

The Cape Town City Council gave permission for work to be done on the site, in spite of loss of revenue, and sponsored certain site logistics such as the tarmac cutting, its removal from the site and re-tarring of the area. Their Town Planning Branch, Roads Branch, Posts and Telecommunication Dept , Electricity Dept and Estates Branch assisted.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

The primary aim of this research has been to investigate what we can learn about our past from archaeologically excavated ceramic remains. The emphasis has been on the more common, ordinary, popular, widespread and accessible ceramics of everyday life and how these can be interpreted to add to our knowledge of social history of life at the Cape around the middle of the 18th century. To this end, a social history paradigm has been used.

Through this study, it has been possible to identify vernacular trends in one of the most basic cultural traditions involving foodways of early Capetonians. The archaeological evidence has been used to contribute to this neglected field of study and to place it in a larger context, a context in which the excavated ceramics had meaning. The critical question in this study revolves around these social and cultural meanings. The point which has come across very clearly is that ceramics by themselves offer very limited insight into questions on cultural change and human behavior. They cannot be understood without considering other elements of the local food domain to create a contextual framework within which the local assemblages can be interpreted.

For the excavated ceramics to be considered within a more holistic approach, various models have been proposed. Anderson's (1971) "foodways" model incorporates a whole interrelated system of food conceptualization, its procurement, distribution, preservation, preparation and consumption. While this holistic approach encompasses most aspects of food habits, it is far beyond the scope of this thesis, particularly since scholarship contributing along these lines has been much neglected on a local level. However, a basic underlying assumption applies in this study, namely, as stated by Yentsch, that

> "The food domain cannot be understood without knowledge of the functional and symbolic parameters of each successive phase that food passed through as it was 1) obtained, 2) introduced into the household domain, 3) transformed from a raw product into an edible meal, 4) distributed, 5) consumed or 6) discarded, and how these phases articulate with the archaeological record " (Yentsch 1991:27)

Beaudry *et al* (1983) have focussed on vessel typologies, within the functional divisions "food and drink storage", "food processing", "beverage consumption", "food consumption", "other" and "health/hygiene", starting with documentary sources in which they are based on shape, size and ware and relating these to excavated assemblages. At this stage of the analysis of the locally excavated ceramics, an adapted version of this methodology has been found to be the most useful.

Beaudry *et al* have used documentary sources to serve as texts to facilitate functional interpretation,

> "...to begin to systematize the chaos in the categories used to describe excavated ceramic vessels and the assemblages they comprise, in a way that will make the cultural dynamics behind them more accessible" (Beaudry *et al* 1983:18).

The common denominator in all these approaches is the underlying principle which underpins historical archaeology today, namely, that archaeological interpretation of the ceramics involves the study of social and cultural change in its entirety, and that the study of the cultural processes involved with the ceramics is a means of exploring relationships between adaptive strategy, ideology and patterned variability in the archaeological ceramic assemblages (Deagan 1982:171; South 1977). Interpretations are aimed at explaining, rather than only describing, the ceramics of past societies. The multiple data base in historical archaeology allows multi-dimensional interpretations of the ceramics, all of which contribute to the overall picture in the final analysis. It is on the basis of the value of all the above methods, in aiming to arrive at the cultural statements made by past societies through their ceramic remains, that an integrated approach is advocated in this study.

Chapter 2 deals with the methods and theories available in historical archaeology to tackle this project. Chapter 3 outlines the backdrop of cultural phases within which the mid-18th century assemblage emerged. The following chapter deals with the more general background of ceramics at the Cape, with the history of indigenous ceramics preceding those of the Dutch settlement and with a more detailed account of what the historical record portrays as the situation during the Dutch East India Company period, summing up with the introduction of British ceramics at the Cape.

All the above serves to introduce the sample under study, the ceramic assemblage excavated from the Grand Parade in central Cape Town (Fig. 1a), which forms the bulk of the following Chapter 5. Chapter 6 concludes the work on the sample under study, drawing up a classification system relevant to the Parade assemblage focussing on the mid-18th century, with vessel forms and functional categories typical of this assemblage. Chapter 7 introduces the use of inventory information, drawing on probate data of the mid-18th century from sites around the west corner of the Grand Parade, in the closest proximity to the excavation area.

Chapter 8, being the concluding chapter, discusses the integration of various cultural traditions influencing the development of local foodways. The inventory and archaeological data are set against each other. Descriptions of the local cuisine are investigated and the evidence of the Parade faunal material is considered in this regard. The final chapter concludes with the concept of the "Cape", how close we are to defining this.

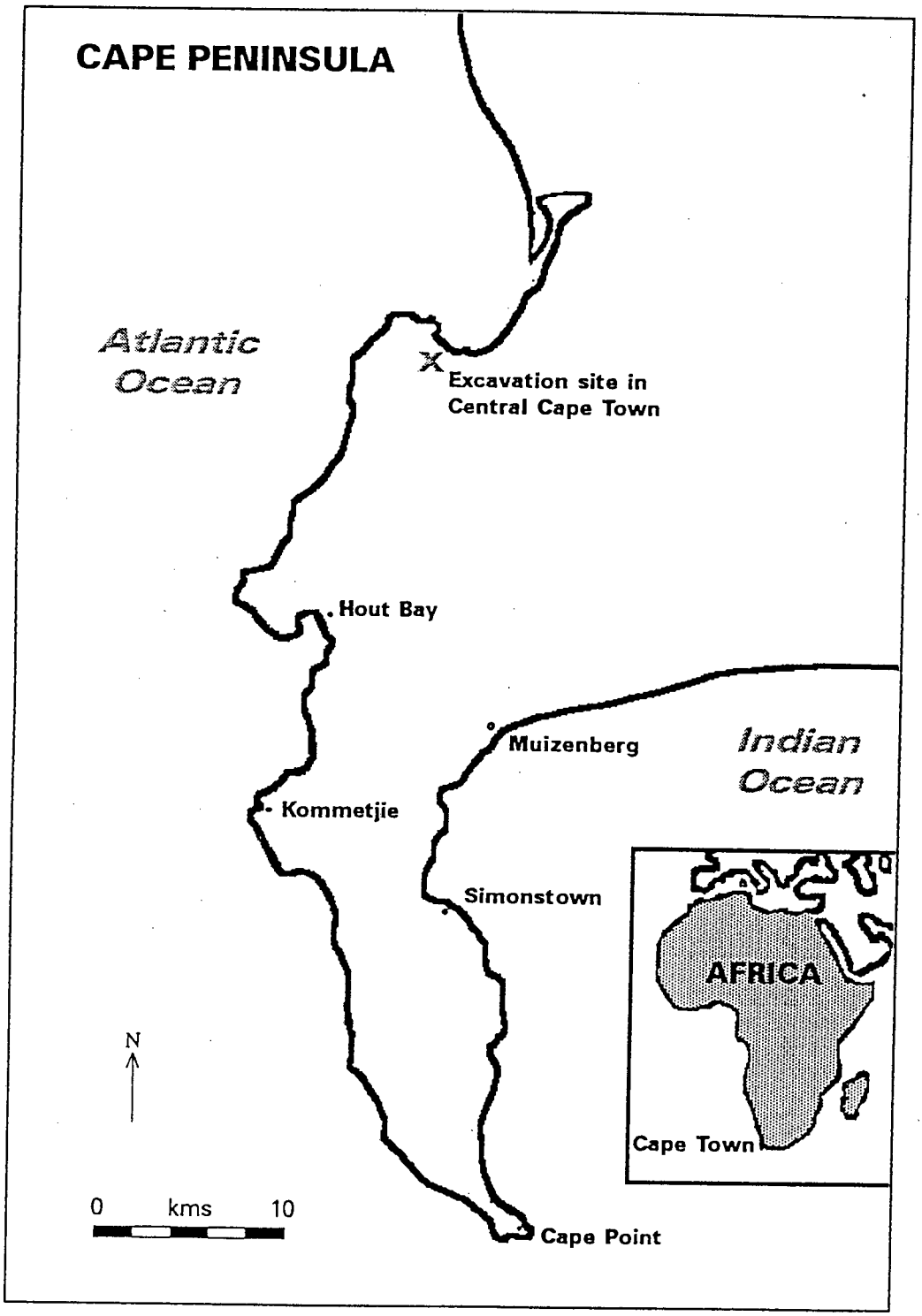


Fig 1a. Location of Fort de Goede Hoop site (X) excavated on the Grand Parade in present-day Cape Town.

CHAPTER 2

METHOD AND THEORY

This chapter deals with methodological issues, shifts in paradigm and theoretical formulations in relation to the study of historical archaeology and the ceramics in question. For historical archaeology to be effective the methods, theories and interpretation of both archaeological and historical data require consistent re-appraisal. In the 1960s the Binfords and Clarke, among others, advocated the important principle that archaeology must grow with the times and in doing so, remain fundamentally progressive by modifying its methods and its patterns of explanation (Binford and Binford 1968; Clarke 1968). As our self-understanding is continually enlarged and transformed, our view of our past and our pre-history must also change. " A prehistory which does not grow with our times is a dead science, a folklore fairyland of yesterday's myths " (Clarke 1969:244).

Many of the aspects of historical archaeology today focus on the spread of European culture throughout the world and its interaction with indigenous cultures. Sophisticated questions are attempted, based on modern historiographic and archaeological methods, but this has not always been the case (Deetz 1977:5; 1988a:1988b; 362). Earlier excavations were motivated by various reasons which included antiquarian interests, the recovery of architectural data for restoration projects and sites' connections with historical figures.This forms the background of what has happened both overseas and on the local scene (Abrahams 1984; 1985). More recently historical archaeology has made great strides in transcending this narrow perspective.

On the local front, the focus and range of historical archaeological projects have changed notably

over the past decade. The work of Hennie Vos at Stellenbosch Museum, started in 1976, aimed at exploring the cultural history of Stellenbosch (Vos 1981; 1985). His recently completed dissertation makes use of historical, archaeological and architectural information to show the change in social values of colonists settling at Stellenbosch between 1680 and 1860 (Vos 1993). At the South African Cultural History Museum, historical archaeological projects commenced in 1981 with rescue excavations around Cape Town and long-term research excavations at the Castle and Fort de Goede Hoop, concentrating variously on 17th and 18th century cultural interactions between local and immigrant populations and transformations in the material culture record (Abrahams 1983b; 1984a; 1984b; 1985; 1987; 1990a; 1990b; 1990c; 1991a; 1991b; 1992a; Abrahams-Willis 1995), evidence of slavery at the Old Slave Lodge in Adderley Street and Groot Constantia and the input of British popular culture at the Cape (Abrahams 1982; 1983a; 1984c; 1989; 1992b).

At the University of Cape Town (UCT) Martin Hall has initiated projects in historical archaeology since 1985 through the Historical Archaeological Research Group and the Archaeology Contracts Office (Crossmend 1993:1-11). Excavations have been conducted at various sites, including Paradise in Newlands Forest, at the farm Onrust in the western Cape, at the Castle and at Bree, Harrington and Sea Streets in Cape Town (Cairns 1980; Hall 1988; Hall, Brink and Malan 1988; Hall, Halkett, Huigen van Beek and Klose 1990; Hall, Halkett, Klose and Ritchie 1990; Hall, Malan *et al* 1993; Hall, Miller and Moore 1993; Honeyman and Ritchie 1985; Malan 1993). Hall's interpretations use all forms of material culture reading them as texts. He argues for a multi-textual approach to expose the interplay between dominant and subservient elements in colonial society, the " high " and " low " as dialectics of material culture (1991; 1992).

The work of students in the Archaeology Department (UCT) has resulted in a number of unpublished papers and dissertations in historical archaeology such as those on the Posthuys at Muizenberg (Vos 1980; Saitowitz 1982; Robertson 1983), vernacular architecture at Verlorenvlei by John Gribble (1987; 1990), vernacular architecture and documentary evidence by Yvonne

Brink (1992), inventories and the material culture records of the Cape by Antonia Malan (1986; 1990; 1993) and on forts and fortifications around the Cape Peninsula by Ute Seemann (1989; 1993a; 1993b).

Overseas researchers have undertaken a number of local projects, most notably James Deetz and those working with him, whose work will be discussed in greater detail later. Carmel Schrire has focussed on the impact of colonialism as evidenced at Oudepost, a 17th century outpost on the south-western Cape coast (Cruz-Uribe and Schrire 1991; Schrire 1988; 1990; Schrire *et al* 1990). At Vergelegen near Somerset West, Anne Markell has done excavations of the 18th century wine cellar, the slave lodge and the watermill/horse stable (1991; 1992).

Internationally, historical archaeology today has become much more than the mere recording of specific historical events. It involves the study of social and cultural change in its entirety, together with a critical assessment of the archaeological methodology used and a critical awareness of the social context of the use of the evidence of the past and the bias of those interpreting the past (Ucko 1989:ix-xii). Most archaeologists today are concerned with meaning, ideology, structure and cognition in past societies (Leone 1986:415). Ideas, models and theories have been borrowed from various other disciplines such as structuralism, cognitive anthropology, symbolic analysis and Marxism. This becomes evident when looking at various contributions to this field of study in their multiple diversity of approaches, interests, methods, theories and data bases (Hodder 1989:xxv-xxvii).

Material culture studies

One of the main strengths of historical archaeology is its simultaneous access to multiple categories of evidence, allowing a unique perspective and insights into human cultural behaviour (Deagan 1988:7-22).This multiple data base is characterized by Schuyler (1977) as "the spoken word, the written word, observed behaviour and preserved behaviour" with the

emphasis on finding a means of integrating all this data instead of viewing different sources of evidence separately. But, apart from the obvious importance of documentary, oral and statistical evidence in historical research, all types of research programmes have made use of material culture evidence. Material culture is understood as "that sector of our physical environment that we modify through culturally determined behaviour", from the most simple to the most complex artefacts, those fundamental components of everyday life (Deetz 1977:24; 1988a:362-367). The study of these objects can provide us with numerous and valuable insights into the past, and a conceptual understanding of the various approaches used to interpret this material culture is a prerequisite for the formulation of future theoretical methodologies. This is the challenge which this "age of interpretation" holds for material culture scholars. There is an increasing emphasis on the identification and interpretation of material culture evidence, reflecting patterned human behaviour, to study artefacts in order to get to the people behind them, to enlarge our understanding of both our personal identity and our contemporary culture (Schlereth 1981:1-7; 1986:ix-xiiix).

In his article titled "The artefact as abbreviated act: a social interpretation of material culture", Miles Richardson emphasises the question of meaning. Meaning is viewed in an active,experiential sense, not in a passive, structuralist sense." The secret to the capacity to make meaning lies in the artefact ".The artefact begins as an object in nature," fixed first by sight and then touched by the magic of the hand, "becoming a " collapsed act, a structure whose response is given in advance ". The artefact is viewed as a document that describes our past, an image that reflects our present and a sign that calls us into the future (Richardson 1989:172-176). When studying ceramics, it is therefore important to consider how these artefacts achieve their social meaning.

It has also been argued that there are a number of differences between the archaeological record and human behaviour- what is referred to as the systemic context (Trigger 1986:7). This has resulted in a growing awareness in the limitations of the archaeological record. Only certain

aspects of human behaviour are reflected in material culture. Much of this information has been irretrievably lost and the archaeological data offer only an imperfect record of human behaviour. Artefacts are often cycled in complex ways and the various contexts of their manufacture, use and disposal, - the "science of garbage"- has in recent years received more attention. Nonetheless, archaeologists are still dependant on inferring human behaviour and ideas from the material remains of the past.

In the archaeologists' quest for more appropriate research designs, a number of issues have come to the forefront. One of these concerns the relationship between archaeology and the philosophy of science.The question revolves around the internal analysis and the development of valid logical (archaeological reasoning), epistemological (specification of the general nature and the special qualities of archaeological information) and metaphysical (the clarification of archaeological concepts and their limitations) principles in the study of archaeology (Clarke 1972:237-239). A variety of epistemological positions have been adopted in material culture research. Schlereth has enumerated them as the art history, symbolist, cultural history, environmentalist, functionalist, structuralist, behaviouralistic, national character and social history approaches (1968:38-75). Individual material culture scholars often combine various elements of several approaches.

The art history paradigm, with its emphasis on the singular object and its intrinsic value as an object or art object, still dominates in the fields of traditional art history, architectural history and the history of the decorative arts. This approach has been criticized because the artefacts are judged in terms of twentieth-century art trends and aesthetic canons without considering the interpretive or conceptual value of the objects. The symbolist perspective emphasises the systematic study of all artefacts and the inference of broad cultural patterns from the symbolic or hidden meanings of the artefacts. Although this is a very tempting approach, it has been argued that in many cases the results of this method, which are closely tied in with the subjective interpretation of the analyst, are difficult to prove or disprove (Schlereth 1986:46-53).

The cultural history orientation is concerned with the reconstruction of the origins and development of local and regional cultures in time and place. Cultural historians have been seen in two groups, namely, "static reconstructionists" and "process reconstructionists". Static reconstructionists are primarily concerned with viewing material culture data as the function and result of unique events, with the implicit understanding that the definition of culture involves a consensus of shared ideas, values and beliefs. Process reconstructionists, on the other hand, are concerned with the dynamics of cultural transformations in the past. The complex dimensions of cultural change are studied to establish general laws of behaviour based on documented and artefactual evidence. In this case, culture is defined as peoples extrasomatic adaption to their total sociological and ecological environment (Schlereth 1986:46-48). The assumption that total reconstruction of past lifeways can be accomplished is questioned by process theorists. Instead, they advocate the study of how culture changes can be attempted through contemporary conceptual models such as evolutionism, cultural ecology and systems theory. James Deetz's tripartite evolutionary model for interpreting New England society in the colonial period has demonstrated this approach. He emphasizes," the process by which English people became Americans, and what profound changes were worked on their world view in the process of the transformation " (Deetz 1983:30).

The main emphasis of the environmentalist approach to the study of material culture is on the means by which culture is disseminated across time and space. Interpretation requires the examination of the diffusion process to determine the origin, dissemination routes and the distribution of culture. Any sign of human action in the landscape is considered to imply a culture, a history and an ecological interpretation (Schlereth 1986:50). It is assumed that culture diffuses across space, acquiring and loosing elements through the effects of the environment. Wisely, contemporary environmentalists now attempt to avoid interpretations strictly in terms of ecological forces and also take into account the individual's singular creativity and personal cognitive abilities.

The functionalist approach maintains that culture is primarily a means of adapting to the environment, with technology being the main adaptive mechanism.The utility of an artefact within the context of a technological system provides the key to understanding the process, change, adaption and the cultural impact of objects. Functionalists are equally interested in the mind of the maker of an object as in the way in which the object functions in a socio-cultural context (Schlereth 1986:54). It would be of obvious importance to investigate how the ceramics originally functioned in the society that made and used them. However, as with all the other approaches focusing on the minds of the makers of artefacts, the results are not verifiable.

Structuralists view every aspect of culture as having a functional role as well as a sign value. All cultural systems are viewed as languages, as complex systems of communication, to be systematically analysed according to methods borrowed from linguistics, which in turn may yield the basic and universal patterns that structure the human consciousness. Linguistic models have been used by many structuralists such as Henry Glassie in his *Folk housing in Middle Virginia* in which he applies the concept that "culture is pattern in mind, the ability to make things like sentences or houses " (Schlereth 1986:57; Glassie 1975:17). He uses his "artifactual grammar" to classify a variety of material culture evidence such as bricks, window placements etc, to understand the rationale for the creation of house types. The structuralist approach has been criticized on the grounds that the results of such analysis are not compatible with other analyses and therefore not verifiable. It has also been argued that structuralism does not adequately account for behavioural processes and, as such, is only a descriptive tool. But structuralists contend that, as with languages, decoding of the material aspects of culture can yield a fuller understanding of human culture (Schlereth 1986:55-57).

Human communication depends on both verbal and non-verbal meaning. Verbal meaning has been the subject of vigorous analysis whereas the fundamental role which non-verbal communication plays in the functioning of human communities is yet to be fully explored. Since this meaning code is carried in the material component of human behaviour, it is directly

accessible in the archaeological record. Fletcher (1989:33-39) argues that non-verbal meaning must have a coherence of its own otherwise consistent and repetitious non-verbal communication could not be maintained. The dictates of verbal and non-verbal meanings are different. They are not bound to conform to each other and the specifics of their coding are different. There is therefore great potential for fundamental research on the codes of non-verbal material meanings and their role in past human behaviour.

Deetz, Winer and Scott have exemplified the use of theoretical principles of structuralism in their interpretation of British culture in the eastern Cape (Scott and Deetz 1990:76-89; Winer and Deetz 1990:55-75). They have used this approach to show how the 1820s British settlers' culture was transformed after 1820 and how they conceived of, and ordered, their world in the local situation.

In the behaviouralistic analysis, the diversity of human creativity is stressed, rather than the uniformity sought by structuralists in their quest for universal patterns of the human consciousness. Both aim to get at the " mental template ", the mind of the maker of the object. Behaviouralists, however, emphasise behaviour patterns, the human process of creation, thoughts, communication and conduct in creating objects and culture. They also take into consideration the dynamics and complex relations between thought and action, conduct and communication, motivation and meaning, and, in the end, how this results in a diversity of human behaviour. One of the problems with this approach is that a great deal of observation and experience is required and finally, how does one elicit rationales for behaviour ?

The so-called " national character " school attempts to explain the totality of the national experience by using an assortment of material culture evidence. This school of thought has been criticized for the generalized, sweeping, homogenized histories which it produces (Schlereth 1986:63-68). The question for countries as pluralistic and geographically diverse such as the United States or South Africa is: is it possible to describe a dominant worldview for an entire

society ?

Those following the social history paradigm set out to examine social groups, social institutions and social structures through a socio-historical perspective to include the day-to-day experiences of large aggregates of the population such as minorities, ethnic groups, women etc (Schlereth 1986:68-72). This approach encourages the analysis of material culture data to extract information on social behaviour as opposed to merely collecting and describing the objects. This more populist emphasis focuses on the vernacular, more common-place and mass-style objects as opposed to the more elite or high-style, the study of which " normally adds little to the sum of understanding of human behaviour " (Schlereth 1986:73). The study of entire ceramic assemblages excavated locally, which include such common-place items, will help to widen the perimeters of conventional historical studies.

Interpretation

The development of archaeological interpretations within the past few decades embodies the use of many of the above schools of thought. The emphases of the "new archaeology" or processual archaeology of the 1970s, sometimes hailed as a theoretical revolution (Flannery 1973:48), was on making the research problem more explicit, describing the means chosen to solve it and the degree of success in reaching a solution (Watson 1986:440). Binford stressed the need to develop ideas and theories (middle-range theory) about the formation processes of the archaeological record, with the aim of understanding the processes responsible for change and diversification, and the organizational properties of living systems (1977:7). Processual archaeologists stressed the importance of regularities in human behaviour and generalizations which could be inferred from them. They argued that regularities can be observed in modern settings and then used to explain the material products of past behaviour (Trigger 1986:2). This has led to the acknowledgement today that social stereotypes and its effects on the interpreter have a significant influence on the interpretation of archaeological data (Trigger 1986:3). David

Clarke's article *Archaeology, the loss of innocence*, was an emphatic call for disciplinary self-consciousness among archaeologists (1973:6-18).

One of the most significant recent shifts in paradigm with reference to the archaeologist's view of the world of material culture occurred with the appearance of Hodder's (1982) *Symbolic and structural archaeology*. There was a break away from the more common conception of material culture, in which the external physical attributes of artefacts and their relationships were regarded as the sum of their meaning.There was a move away from the search for a methodology to assign meaning to artefact patterning, and to a more self-reflexive position in which the archaeologist became more aware of what is actually involved in the act of writing the past.

More recent approaches of the later 1980s show a greater critical awareness within the discipline. Christopher Tilley (1989:185-194) considers material culture as a kind of speech which embodies coded messages requiring decoding and archaeology as being a pursuit of sign systems. He emphasises that material culture is a framing and communicative medium for transforming, storing or preserving social information. It is a symbolic medium, a silent form of writing and discourse. Material culture is socially produced and therefore has a human meaning resulting from a shared system of signification. The archaeologist works towards the meaning of the past by means of analysis, by going beneath the materials to reveal the underlying principles at work, principles which may also be implicated in the overall structure of the social order (Tilley 1989:189-193). Any object can have multiple and sometimes contradictory meanings, depending on a whole host of factors. Meaning also changes according to the context in which interpretation takes place, and according to who is carrying out the interpretation. The main points which Tilley emphasizes are that material culture acts in multi-dimensional channels as a non-verbal mode of communication and that the interpretation of the meaning of material culture is a contemporary activity changing according to the context of the interpretation. " The archaeologist is not so much reading the signs of the past as writing these signs into the present

" (Tilley 1989:193).

Processual archaeologists view the site as a fossil record, a sequence of " detritus produced unself-consciously through human adaptive strategies" (Carver 1989:670). They look towards the hard sciences for their ideals. Post-processual archaeologists view the site as a text, deliberately produced by communities and individuals to express ideals, contradictions and perceived relationships with each other and with nature. Linda Patrik (1985:56) has recommended that both these approaches should be used in tandem, the physical processual model to describe the world and the textual post-processual model to interpret it.

One of the most critical questions which arises when we try to get to the mind behind the artefact is : " How do we know what is, or was, in another person's mind " ? This question is posed as the opening line of Melas' article on archaeological theory (1989:137-155). From a methodological point of view, how does one gain access to other cultural systems? How do we get to look inside the " black box " problem of archaeology, the black box of the mind (Davis 1989:202; Renfrew 1982:1-34; 1987:689))? Melas proposes that through the intergration of internal and external explanations, defined by the terms "etics", "emics" and "empathy", a cognitive approach for archaeological explanation may be achieved.

Etics are defined as the behavioural, and emics as the mental, dimension of human conduct. Etic reality refers to the extrasomatic base, the material evidence of behaviour (Melas 1989:137-155). Emic reality refers to non-material factors such as cultural actualities (eg. art, music, literature etc) and cultural dispositions and psychological attitudes (eg. cognitive goals, intentions, values, philosophies etc). The etic approach in anthropology seeks to acquire knowledge through observation by using categories of analysis which do not necessarily coincide with the mental templates of the subjects. The etic perspective depends on the standpoint of the observer, the emic approach takes into account the native rather than the enquirer's conceptions, that is, by judging other cultures by their own, not our standards. The

emic method implies a form of internal explanation by considering what subjects think and say about their beliefs, intentions etc., rather than by observing behavioural patterns.

Both the etic and emic approaches have their advantages and limitations, requiring a new philosophy of science which leaves room for both the observer and the observed in their subjective or objective modes (Melas 1989:142). Empathy is defined as a mode of explanation in which the archaeologist seeks to understand the thoughts of people in the past through reliving, re-enacting and reconstituting the thoughts behind the historical acts or the cultural activities. The observer seeks to arrive at an imaginative understanding of the mind behind the action. It is Melas' contention that a complementary, integrated plurism of models should be applied in archaeological theory. The ultimate concern in archaeological explanation is a reconstructive and explanatory understanding of human behaviour. Both explanation and behaviour involve the human mind and emic, etic and empathy will always be present in the explanatory process. Subjective elements are inherent in explanations, but relatively objective standards may be achieved through probabilistic reasoning, in certain cases through hypothetico-deductive testing and through additional etic information based on observation - behavioural evidence.

In summary, during the pre-1960s the archaeological record was viewed as a direct reflection of the past (Watson 1986:450-453). The first phase of the new archaeology between 1962-1972 emphasized the use of new techniques and methods to yield a wealth of human social and cultural behaviour. The period 1972 through to the late 1970s emphasized the problem of interpretation due to interference by natural and cultural site formation processes. These could be studied in the present and their distorting effects neutralized in interpretation. In the late 1970s and into the 1980s scepticism arose about the use of empirical studies became more doubtful. Skeptics of the late 1980s and onwards argue that there is no real hope for retrieving past human behaviour considering all the limitations. The problems they outline relate to the dynamic quality of the archaeological record and human behaviour which are too complicated,

too intricate, too intangible and too idiosyncratic. Moreover, archaeological perceptions are distorted by contemporary socio-political forces. In Tilley's words (1989:188),

> "Material culture does not provide a mirror to society or a window through which we can see it. Rather, there are multiple transformations and relationships between different aspects of material culture and between material culture and society of, for example, parallelism, opposition, inversion, linearity and equivalence. In order to understand material culture we have to think in terms that go entirely beyond it, to go beneath the surface appearances to an underlying reality. This means we are thinking in terms of relationships between things, rather than simply in terms of the things themselves."

Although there appears to be a great deal of skepticism about the real purpose and capabilities of archaeological interpretation, the main issue here revolves around the question of what the ceramic component can teach us about past societies. What can we learn about our human past from ceramic remains? Moreover, what broad cultural patterns can we infer from the symbolic or hidden meanings in ceramics? What can we interpret from the ceramics about human behaviour in the local situation? What cultural changes are reflected in the ceramics and how can we use the documented and artefact evidence to study general laws of human behaviour?

Comparative research methodologies

James Deetz has been one of the leading figures in proposing a model of explanation incorporating ceramic assemblages and other artefacts. This model has received a great deal of scrutiny and comment and has been found to have a wide range of applicability (Deetz 1973:15-40; 1983:30; Deagan 1982:165; Brown 1973). Deetz proposed a tripartite evolutionary model for interpreting New England society in the colonial period. Although he employed all the evidence available, he especially made use of ceramics emphasizing the need to understand the process of cultural change and the profound changes in world views in the process of these transformations.

Originally, this thesis was to be based on James Deetz's model. However, it has subsequently

relied more heavily on the work of Mary Beaudry *et al* (1983) and Anne Yentsch (1991). Many of the questions, in slightly adapted form, posed in Deetz's model, are relevant to most ceramic studies in historical archaeology. Are certain patterns in the ceramic assemblages so general that they may be applied across geographical areas, transcending local adaptations? How was the culture of immigrants transformed and how did they conceive of, and order, their world in the local situation ? Did the initial cultural system conform to the system practiced in their former home? Do the locally excavated samples reflect a great deal of divergence from the parent culture by the mid-18th century? If a meaning code of non-verbal communication is carried in the ceramics, how accessible is this in the archaeological record? The issues of absence and presence, availability, need, function and social status play an important part in the interpretation of ceramic assemblages (Deetz 1973; Noël Hume 1985:3-48; South 1977:231-235).However, there are limitations in most ceramic studies which will curtail the degree of success in answering all these questions.

Locally, it is anticipated that changes in ceramic assemblages will reveal critical changes in the culture of early South Africans, changes revealed in the way in which people structured and used their material world. However, recovering the past in historical archaeology has been shown to require more than the bare bones of the artefacts and features, and depends on the supplementary material of the historical and anthropological record and knowledge of the cultural context of the artefacts (Yentsch 1992a:30; 308). The use of this evidence will be discussed in more detail in the following section, but suffice it to say here that it is considered to be critical to the interpretation of the ceramics.

Ceramics have always been considered of great importance by archaeologists (Deetz 1977:46-61). It is perhaps one of the most informative kinds of material culture, found in great profusion on historical sites, fragile in the living world and yet relatively indestructible in the ground. Ceramic data provide a high degree of chronological precision and their interpretation relate to the everyday aspects of past societies. The ceramics under study in this research were excavated

from the Grand Parade, site of the first official 17th century Dutch Fort de Goede Hoop (Abrahams 1984a; 1985; 1987; 1990a; 1990b; 1990c; 1991a; 1991b; 1992a). The site was excavated between 1982 and 1992, yielding thousands of datable ceramic sherds and providing an opportunity to study this assemblage which was found to relate mostly to the mid-18th century.

Deetz has shown that his model has applicability to a wide range of vernacular material culture. His work in the eastern Cape lends international support to the study of how the organizational form of everyday-life that stems from England and Holland or from the colonial process has undergone change (Deetz 1983:30; Deagan 1982:165; Scott and Deetz 1990; Winer and Deetz 1990; Winer,Scott and Deetz 1991). For a long time there was a tendency for cultures to be studied in isolation from each other (Trigger 1986:4). Deetz's work also demonstrates that individual cultures should be perceived as integral parts of broader social networks, their interaction playing an important role in shaping their internal development. Although, as Deetz points out, closely adjacent communities can be radically different in terms of ideology and their world view, if certain patterns emerge in archaeological assemblages and these are so general as to apply to most geographical areas transcending local adaptations, they may be equally weak as explanatory devices (Deetz 1983:27-34). It is therefore advisable, wherever possible, to view pattern formations in terms of the entire record including documentary, artefactual and archaeological data. It is also important that patterns are defined in suitable artefact classes to arrive at the more fundamental level of inquiry, the abstract context of assemblages.

Deetz has demonstrated a global approach by producing evidence for distinctive national cultures for both the Eastern Cape and America. To arrive at cognitively-based regularities in human behaviour, the problem should be approached by looking at cross-cultural regularities and differences to elucidate the cultural patterns of specific societies.

Ceramics can provide us with numerous valuable insights into the past, but a conceptual

understanding of the complex dimensions of cultural change must be studied within an appropriate methodological framework to arrive at general laws of human behaviour.

Parade methodology

It is clear from the great strides in methodological developments in archaeology over the past few years that various approaches have both their strong and weaker points. It would therefore not be detrimental to the project to combine elements of all, wherever suitable. The main approach selected for the purpose of this study, however, is the social history paradigm, focussing on material culture aspects, in this case the ceramics under study, and the extrapolation of social behaviour information which this approach may provide. The emphasis will be on the more common ceramics of every-day life and how these can be interpreted to add to the knowledge of social history of Capetonians around the middle of the 18th century.

No study of this kind, focussing on the prolific archaeological evidence of excavated ceramics, has yet been done for Cape Town, and its potential in the social history sphere of information is vast. In this period of life at the Cape, there is little history for the less priveledged and little knowledge of basic necessities such as sustenance and the associated aspects of cultural tradition which accompany the preparation and consumption of food. Only scant research has gone into this everyday, basic activity and even less into the way in which the local archaeological evidence can contribute to this field of study, its cultural ramifications and how these fit into the global picture.

First of all, there appears to be little or no correlation between archaeological samples and those in local museum collections, immediately illustrating the lack of social history context of cultural historical evidence. One of the major contributions of the every-day artefactual component is the broader social context which it provides, quite apart from the more elite, elaborate selections of high-style living which do not allow insight into the mass populations or minority groups of

the time. It is commonly accepted today that the social history of the broader community, or larger aggregates of the population, is a much neglected source of knowledge and continued archaeological exploration in this respect is significant. The bulk of the Grand Parade sample probably accumulated from surrounding households and this is readily usable as an aggregate assemblage for manipulation in the retrieval of social history information, particularly in regard to a universal activity such as eating and the concomitant vernacular foodway tradition.

The methodology proposed here is directly related to the questions being asked, namely; What can we learn about the foodway tradition and social history of the mid-18th century Cape from the ceramic remains and how can the ceramics be used to measure how various people selected differently from the same range of available objects? It is proposed that, with an integrated approach, it will be possible to identify vernacular trends in the foodway tradition, pointing to a variety of social history aspects within the Cape society of the 18th century. This is a fairly broad, general postulation at this stage, but the best we can hope to achieve considering the great number of limitations on the sample. Unlike James Deetz's seminal work on American ceramic interpretations, which incorporates a range of sites and various material culture categories, there is a dire lack of suitably reported local data. Due to these constraints, it will not be possible at this stage to make extensive comparisons.

This project proposes that material culture evidence is a necessary adjunct to written discourse, that neither more important than the other, and that the one needs to inform the other. How far this can be used to make conjectural assumptions about ideological intentions (of which even the makers and users are sometimes acknowledged as being unaware) and cognitive systems, is highly debatable. Another pressing question emerges here; How relevant is this approach and its results to the present South African milieu? In a climate of critique by critical archaeologists it is stressed that one of the fundamental problems which all of us as archaeologists have to deal with is the ideological act of recreating the past, and in effect creating history. Can the cultural material be over-interpreted? What is an acceptable level of interpretation? How far can we

stretch our social conscience with interpretations of an ideological nature which cannot be adequately verified or defended by past societies? How relevant and acceptable is this?

The structuralist approach may be suitable in the American situation, but local limitations in the existing data bank as well as critical assessment of the approach itself, the abstract formulation of cultural data , the unverifiable interpretation of the artifactual grammar which, it can be argued, does not adequately account for behavioural processes, and the long leap in interpretation from the artefact to the mind behind the artefact, are factors to consider in the use of this approach.

Ceramics, by themselves, offer very limited insight into questions of cultural change and human behaviour. They cannot be understood without considering other elements of the local food domain to create a contextual framework within which the local assemblages can be interpreted. Because ceramics are only one element in the institution of foodways, other information categories such as those pertaining to the general cuisine of the time, faunal and other edible food remains, functional capacities of ceramics within the household and its availability and socio-economic status, will be juxtaposed against the ceramic evidence to produce a more well-integrated study of the local food domain. By this means important information can be wrested from the material culture evidence, creating a social history context not previously achieved.

Incorporating elements of the functionalist approach to the data under study, such as the question of how ceramics originally functioned in the society which made and used them, could achieve additional results in this project. The added dimension of inventory analysis and control through documentary data will allow us to postulate questions of a more specific nature. This will give us insight into what we might expect to find and direct us to further questions where correlations are lacking. Questions emerge around patterns, regularities and irregularities observed in the data, and these can be regarded as indirect statements expressed by the artefacts. To gain more explicit access to these statements, a discussion should proceed

between these indirect statements expressed by the artefacts and those of the other information categories.

Before we can do anything else, however, we have to see what we have in terms of ceramic composition. Even at this cursory level of description, very little has been done locally to standardise relevant descriptive techniques and an appropriate classification system for the ceramics. This problem forms the basis of a research project by Jane Klose of the University of Cape Town's Historical Archaeology Research Group, not yet completed (pers comm 1994).

The methodology used includes quantification of the ceramic data and their interpretation, along the lines described by Beaudry *et al* (1983) and Yentsch (1991). Beaudry *et al* have set forth a vessel typology for analysing ceramics, referred to as the Potomac Typological System (POTS), and this classification system will be used in this study. But first, the ceramic attributes will be classified according to types, forms, functions, decorative and body colours, decorative and production techniques, styles and as many other details as possible, such as those referring to the evidence of handles, feet and proportions. This is necessary for each site at a descriptive level before the data can be suitably manipulated for pattern recognition to be achieved, and to relate the artefacts to the questions being posed. Without adequate descriptions of the sites and their ceramics, the data cannot be organized into explicit categories which can be replicated on other sites and, in turn, used to extract meaningful interpretations (Adams 1993:29).

Minimum vessel counts will be used in various categories such as types of ceramics, different vessel forms and functional categories over time. Percentage values within these various categories will be compared between sites and the changes observed across time and space will be indicative of changes in the attitude of the early Cape inhabitants, interpreted wherever possible within the context of the additional information categories such as the cuisine and faunal evidence.

From a social history point of view, it will be interesting to see if preliminary observations can be made with slave site material (Hall et al 1990; Hall 1992), more high status sites and sites located outside of Cape Town (Avery 1989; Cruz-Uribe and Schrire 1991; Schrire 1988; 1990; Hall et al 1993). Vernacular trends will be discernable through comparison with overseas and shipwreck site material (Jörg 1986; Museum Boymans-van Beuningen 1991; Olivier 1992; Sheaf and Kilburn 1988;) based on identifying particular markers or signatures in local ceramic assemblages. The main aim is to investigate vernacular trends in the local use of ceramics and if, or how, these may be used to arrive at social history information, bearing in mind the critical archaeologist's perspective that all versions of the past are subject to interpretive creations of the present.

CHAPTER 3

FEATURES OF CAPE CULTURAL HISTORY

In focussing on the subject of Cape cultural history, it is necessary to define exactly what the terms history, culture and the Cape mean in the context of this project. History today can only benefit from the multi-disciplinary approach into which it has developed. The current approach to the history of South Africa embraces evidence from geological, anthropological, archaeological and many other disciplines. For this reason a case is made for starting the history of South Africa three million years ago (Tobias 1986:9). More detailed evidence will be included later under the section dealing with Cape cultural history pre-1652, when Jan Van Riebeeck landed at the Cape.

The term "culture" as used by archaeologists, has many different meanings. One of its uses refers to the way in which mankind has adapted to the environment. In this view, culture is seen as the humanly controlled adaptive strategy employed by mankind over the human and natural environment. Archaeologists also use the word culture to describe a collection or assemblage of regularly occurring archaeological artefacts. In this sense cultural remains are regarded as a physical expression of a particular social group. Cultural remains, such as ceramics, are the products of culture. Our concern is therefore to explain how cultural behaviour is shown in its products (Deetz 1967: 5-7; Hall 1987:9; Whitehouse 1983:129).

The archaeologist's view of culture incorporates a number of inherent qualities. Culture is not biologically transmitted but learnt behaviour. Culture is patterned in a systematic way and has traditionally been categorized in conventional ways such as religion, art, language etc. To the archaeologist, culture is not directly visible. However, patterns perceived in the excavated material, such as the excavated ceramics, are a reflection of the culture which produced them. Incorporating most of these qualities inherent in a definition of culture, Deetz proposes; "Culture can thus be defined as a uniquely human system of habits and customs acquired by

man through an extrasomatic (non-genetic or biological) process, carried by his society, and used as his primary means of adapting to his environment" (1967:7).

Culture cannot be excavated but the patterning perceived in the excavated material is a reflection of the patterning of the culture which produced it. The task lies in discovering how cultural behaviour is shown in ceramics or other artefacts (Deetz 1967:7).

Through a process of detailed observation, certain cultural explanations may be postulated. It is with all the above in mind that features of Cape cultural history will be investigated. From the point of view of the study sample, the area of focus is central Cape Town. However, the history of the Cape is rooted in the general development of southern African history and pre-history. It will therefore be necessary to extend our focus to incorporate broader areas especially, for example, in the more limited spheres of information such as the earlier pre-history and proto-historic periods.

The Cape before 1652

When Bartolomeu Dias sailed around the Cape in 1488, a hitherto unknown culture was discovered. To Europeans, the history of South Africa had just begun, but the advent of mankind in Southern Africa dates back more than 3 million years (Hartdegen 1988:1; Tobias 1896:9). Evidence relating to stone tools suggests that early mankind had the intellectual ability to utilize natural resources to adapt to the environment. The degree of sophistication of the earliest stone tools advanced from the older, fairly crude, stone tools to the more refined blades, knives, thumb-nail scrapers, etc. of the microlithic tradition, which extended into the period of contact during the 17th century (Inskeep 1978: 21-83).

According to archaeological research, San hunter-gatherer communities were spread throughout Southern Africa for approximately 8000 years. Around the time of the birth of Christ, the San made contact with cattle-herding communities called the Khoikhoi. The Khoisan resulted from a process of intermingling, intermarriage, acculturation and assimilation

over centuries between the roving San hunter-gatherers and migrating Khoikhoi herders (Bredenkamp 1986 : 28). By the time of the first European contact, the dichotomy between the San hunters and the stock - keeping Khoikhoi had been greatly blurred. Interaction between the different societies gave rise to patterns of physical and cultural hybridization which obscured their original differences. There was movement in both directions between hunting and herding. A hunting - gathering economy was preserved in the Cape region. However, language and cultural traits moved mainly in one direction, namely, "... from the prestigious and widespread Khoikhoi culture into the despised and localized cultures of the hunters" (Elphick 1977 : 1-42). The amalgam "Khoisan" is supported by linguistic studies which indicate a relationship between San languages and Khoikhoi dialects as distinct from Bantu languages (Bredenkamp 1986 : 28).

Current archaeological evidence suggests that Bantu-speaking people had reached the Eastern Cape more than a thousand years before they were first encountered by white colonists expanding into this area in the 18th century. The first Iron Age communities were established in Natal and Transvaal before AD 300. Unlike their Stone Age predecessors, they lived in settled villages, grew crops, kept herds of livestock and could make metal objects and pottery (Maggs 1984:329-361; 1986:37-43). Both iron-smelting and pottery require detailed knowledge of how to achieve high temperatures and constant heat.

Iron Age communities remained to the east of the Great Fish River in the Eastern Cape, in the areas with summer rainfall of more than about 600mm per annum, sufficient for their crops, good grazing and timber for fuel and building. The Khoisan lived to the west of this invisible frontier across which to-and-fro movement certainly took place. Iron Age groups, for example, moved across the boundary for hunting and grazing. Food, tobacco and iron implements were also exchanged with the Khoisan in return for hunting and herding by members of the Khoisan (Maggs 1984:329-361; 1986:43). This natural interaction between communities and its concomitant results is possibly what created such confusion in the categorizations first attempted by early white observers of this intermingled culture.

Seventeenth century influence

The 17th century Cape was the point at which various European, Asian and indigenous Khoikhoi cultures merged. The most obvious feature of Cape cultural history is the emergence of syncretic cultural complexes resulting from the borrowing of cultural traits amongst the different cultural groups. Elphick and Shell describe three regional variations in culture over the period 1652 to 1795. Their approach is of interest to this study since it focuses on Cape Town specifically, as one of the cultural regions, and is therefore directly relevant to the sample. Cultural features of the Cape Town area are compared with those operating in the arable lands of the south western Cape and that of the trekboer pastoral regions (Elphick and Shell 1979:155-169).

Cape Town was a seaward-looking community on the periphery of the global spice trade. Immigrant European and Asian cultures flourished. The mores of many of the Company incumbents were affected by the "Indische" (Eurasian) culture. These company incumbents often arrived at the Cape after long sojourns and even lifetimes in the East Indies. The higher Company officials served as influential cultural models, which accounts partly for the wide use of Low Portuguese ("lingua franca") among Europeans at the Cape, the Cape Dutch architecture and the local Cape cuisine. However, being much closer to Europe than Batavia, the Cape also hosted a considerable influx of new settlers from the Netherlands, Germany, France etc., diluting the effects of Indische influence, especially in agricultural and pastoral regions beyond Cape Town itself. The hegemonic European culture was transmitted to artisans from the East, domestic slaves and free blacks (Elphick and Shell 1979:116-169). In the same way, however, cultural influences made their impact on Europeans in the opposite direction. The Cape cultural transfer was therefore mutual. The slaves, even though they were imported from a variety of countries (Armstrong 1979:75-115), possessed a single cultural heritage. They were relatively evenly distributed amongst the burger population. The culture acquired by slaves, especially in the rural areas, was thus that of their masters' with whom they often lived in close contact. Slaves were encouraged to speak Dutch and low Portuguese among themselves and with their masters (Elphick and Shell 1979:116-169).

The Khoikhoi, on the other hand, especially in arable areas, were more selective and slower to adopt their rulers' culture, firstly because they were only gradually incorporated into the colonial economy and society and secondly because they possessed a more homogeneous, strongly entrenched culture and family structure than the slaves. They were, however, attracted by European products such as green vegetables, bread, rice, tobacco, brandy and arak which they rapidly incorporated into their own culture. Occasionally they learnt forms of pidgin Dutch and French on Huguenot farms. But those in arable areas, unlike their urban counterparts, retained most of their traditional culture such as their mat huts, dress of skins, greased bodies and assegais. Presumably their mythology, music and religion were also very slow to change. The smallpox epidemic of 1713 eliminated most of the Cape Town and southwestern Cape Khoikhoi population. Consequently, they were vastly outnumbered and dominated by Europeans and slaves in these areas, and eventually absorbed into their culture (Elphick and Shell 1979:117-169).

In more remote regions traversed by the trekboers, there was a rapid decline in material wealth and contact with Cape Town and Europe decreased considerably. Both European and slave densities were low. Under these circumstances a composite culture emerged with an influential Khoikhoi counterpart and a greatly submerged Asian slave culture. During the eighteenth century it was feared that the European trekboers would lose their culture and religion by "contamination" with the Khoikhoi. Early travellers and high officials such as the Secunde Cloppenburg, Stavorinus, Mentzel and Lichtenstein endorsed these concerned views (Elphick and Shell 1979:157).

The Khoikhoi exerted a considerable influence on the material culture of both Europeans and slaves in the interior. Colonists adopted the pastoral and hunting economy formerly monopolized by the Khoikhoi. Like the Khoikhoi, they also lived the relatively isolated, semi-nomadic, self-reliant lifestyle of the inland pastoralist. Europeans sometimes built stone houses in the more settled pastoral locales, otherwise they built simple dwellings with clay walls, straw roofs with mere holes for windows and doors of reed mats. These water-resistant reed mats were derived from the Khoikhoi culture and were also sometimes used under

tarpaulins as covering for farmers' wagons. Certain Europeans lived in mat huts which travellers could not distinguish from those of the Khoikhoi (Elphick and Shell 1979:116-169).

Other aspects of Khoikhoi culture adopted by pastoral Europeans included burning of the veld to improve the pasture, drying strips of game on trees and bushes (later called "biltong"), the occasional use of sheepskin for children's dress and the use of Khoikhoi sandals made of cattle hide or animal skins ("veldschoenen"). The Khoikhoi continued to speak their language but adopted many words of Dutch derivation. By the turn of the 19th century the Khoikhoi language had practically died out except on the colony's borders, where it was spoken with a heavy European admixture. The adult trekboer society hardly ever adopted the Khoikhoi language. A limited number of officials, however, gained a working knowledge of it. In the trekboer regions the Europeans spoke Dutch and the slaves used Portuguese, but otherwise the culture of both slaves and colonists was a composite of European and Khoikhoi influences, adapted to a livestock economy. The so-called Bastaard offspring of European-Khoikhoi unions favoured European clothes. Khoikhoi in and about Cape Town wore clothes similar to those of the domestic slaves (Elphick and Shell 1979:116-169).

Developments by the 18th century

In short, the different European cultures, slave cultures and Khoikhoi culture merged with one another. Various cultural patterns were discernable in different regions by the late 18th century. The emphasis was no longer between ethnic or status groups but between regions. Cape Town had a more cosmopolitan culture in which Company officials, certain burgers and slaves shared in a mixed European and Asian culture. Christianity and Islam were practiced, the latter mostly among slaves who also retained more traditionally Asian traits. Manumissions were more frequent at the Cape. Miscegenation was necessitated by the large number of domiciled and visiting sailors and soldiers who entered seasonally, attracted by economic fluctuations and activities. A significant population of "Free Blacks" arose in Cape Town. However, they were regarded mostly as the lower status group and not readily accepted into the dominant European settler group within the rigid Cape colonial society (Elphick and Shell

1979:160-162).

The European settlers of the arable lands of the south western Cape lived more isolated lives away from the influx of new people and ideas. They were dominated by a labour-intensive economy. Sex rations were more balanced reducing the pressures toward miscegenation. Concubinage was frowned upon. Manumissions were few. Blacks were assimilated into the European culture but not into the church or freeburger society. Clear social distinctions were retained between Europeans and blacks (Elphick and Shell 1979:161).

The trekboer pastoralists were even further removed from the cosmopolitan influence of Cape Town. They lived in comparative poverty which gave rise to a new material culture based on the products of pastoralism and their immediate environment. They were less dependant on slaves and more reliant on Khoikhoi labour. The Asian culture therefore soon became diluted. Miscegenation was practiced since there were few available European women and a new group, the Baastaards, came into existence. In the trekboer pastoralists region, the remaining cultural cleavages were between Europeans, slaves, the Bastaards and a few acculturated Khoikhoi on the one side, and more traditional Khoikhoi on the other side. Such were the cultural relations as described by Elphick and Shell (1979:116-169).

More generally, however, the development of the cultural history specific to Cape Town is closely tied to its economic relations with the outside world (and eventually with its inland connections) as well as the continuous cultural input of foreign elements embarking at this port of call. In 1652 a new cultural system was brought to the Cape by the Dutch East India Company (VOC). The Company retained a Dutch character even though its incumbents came from all over central Europe (Davenport 1987:19). Holland was then a prosperous and wealthy country and the Dutch were reluctant to face the hardships of the common soldier or sailor away from home. During Van Riebeeck's time the Company was cosmopolitan in character, recruiting it's soldiers and sailors from all nationalities, often from the destitute of the neighbouring countries which lagged behind in economic growth (Hattersley 1969:5). The slaves of the 17th century were then mainly imported in decreasing proportions from India,

Madagascar, Indonesia, Ceylon, Malaya and Japan (Bradlow 1978:80-106). The officers were mainly selected from those of Dutch origin. It was VOC policy ".... to keep the colonies as close to the motherland as possible" (Obholzer et al 1985:26). The European foreign element (mostly Germans, Scandinavians and Belgians as well as English, Scottish, French, Flemings and Swiss) was only used to strengthen the Dutch system, coaxed into cultural uniformity with the Dutch language and the Reformed Church as cement (Boucher 1986:64; Davenport 1987:23).

The early settlement was greatly dependant on the mother country for supplies as evidenced by endless requests forwarded to the VOC headquarters in the Netherlands (Cape Archives C 1317-1859; Leibrandt 1905). By the time Van Riebeeck left the Cape in 1662 the settlement was more self-sufficient and less dependant on the mother-country (Hattersley 1969:8). The Cape could fulfill its immediate purpose in providing passing fleets with fresh vegetables and meat. Although the Dutch laid down the laws and fiscal policy, decided on the official language and supervised education, the foreigners had greater responsibility in the fields of building and carpentry, agricultural practices and the arts and crafts, exerting a profound influence on the developing vernacular culture of the colony (Hattersley 1969:8; Obholzer *et al* 1985:25). The production of local European-style pottery belongs to this period.

Through conditions of extreme hardship, a degree of cultural isolation from the European mother culture and increasing hostility towards the monopolistic policy of the Company, a new generation of locally born individuals emerged (Penn 1986:4; Walker 1959:54-66). As the 18th century progressed, the Cape developed with a mixture of influences from three different continents; Europe, Africa and Asia (Penn 1986:4). The VOC was experiencing growing economic difficulties. In the face of Scandinavian and English competition, their Baltic trade was suffering. Three Anglo-Dutch commercial wars were fought. The British gained naval supremacy over the Dutch and subsequently reorganized their English East India Company on a much stronger basis. The French were also gaining greater influence in the Indies. All in all, the weaknesses of the chartered company were coming to light. The Cape Colony, however, was not without elements of strength. By about 1739 it consisted of a more

homogeneous society than ever before. The composite society had steadily welded together into a single people through time, intermarriage and the stresses of the Van der Stel controversy which brought to the fore the conflict between burger rights and official privileges. A stronger, more conservative cultural system emerged, continuing relatively unchanged to the end of the eighteenth century (Walker 1959:77-82).

British take-over, 1795

By September 1795 the Cape of Good Hope was in the hands of the British. It was the end of an era but not quite the beginning of a new one. A period of transitional governments followed (Boucher 1986:74). Between 1795 and 1814 the Cape changed hands three times. The first British occupation lasted from 1795 to 1803, followed by the Batavian Republic rule up to 1806. In 1806 the British took occupation of the Cape for the second time. In 1814 the Dutch permanently ceded the Cape to British rule (Freund 1979:211-236).

The transitional period started at a time of crisis and conflict in Cape Society, reflecting a similar transition in cultural trends. Initially the British were not interested in transforming the colony. There was a strong continuity in economic, social and administrative concerns throughout the transitional period. However, certain important changes gradually occurred. Foremast amongst these was the steady dismantling of the existing commercial structure enhanced by the rapid growth of British traders and British trade. This period is therefore marked by a fluctuation in cultural inputs and the first significant introduction of British culture (Freund 1979:213).

The following cultural period was part of a dramatic era which made a more emphatic break with the past. The British consolidated their authority over the Cape. Economic changes were amongst the foremost importance in the first half of the 19th century (Le Cordeur 1986:80). There were great increases in productivity and trade at the Cape, with developments in road and mountain pass constructions and an increase in shipping activities. Country districts were made more accessible through construction of the Tulbagh Pass (1807) Sir Lowry's Pass

(1830), the Montagu Pass, Mitchell's Pass and Bain's Kloof Pass (1840s to 1850s). The volume of ships calling at the Cape quadrupled between the 1820s and the 1840s. Private business began to flourish. The British merchants settling at the Cape made active use of their financial and trading connections in London. In 1825 the currencies of all annexed colonies of the British Government were converted to sterling. This caused unprecedented hardships in the short term, but in the long run it was of fundamental importance in the economic development of the Cape. In 1822 the Commercial Exchange was founded. Insurance companies were established from the 1830's and the first commercial bank appeared in 1837. A small British mercantile elite prospered with a dominating influence on both business and public life at the Cape (Le Cordeur 1986:81). It was a period of overwhelming British popular culture, a sure sign of British imperialism of the 19th century (Chambers 1974:925-935).

In conclusion, it is important to consider the backdrop against which the mid-18th century ceramics under study emerged, ushered in by a period of indigenous occupation of the Cape by Khoisan who had knowledge of pottery-making. The cultural complex of the 17th century, was an amalgam of European, Asian and Khoisan cultures, with differentiation occurring from the 17th into the 18th century and between regions. What is significant in terms of the mid-18th century ceramics under study, is that by this time the Cape was represented by a more homogenous society than before, with a more conservative cultural system. During the following period when the British took over, a new cultural system was introduced, representing a break with the past.

CHAPTER 4

CERAMICS AT THE CAPE

This chapter introduces the discussion on the ceramics prevalent at the Cape. The indigenous ceramics are known mostly from archaeological findings. Information on ceramics of the VOC period and those of the Transitional and British periods comes mainly from sources focussing on Company records, bills of lading, regulations pertaining to the porcelain trade and work on deceased inventories, executed by Woodward (1974; 1982), Volker (1954; 1959) and Jörg (1982). The purpose of chapter is to outline the extent of background information available before introducing the archaeological sample.

Indigenous ceramics (pre-1652)

Pottery in North Africa dates back to about 10 000 before the present. It spread into southern Africa some 7000 years later. The source of this pottery has been traced back to central and eastern Africa from where it spread into southern Africa about 2000 years ago. The earliest reliable dates for pottery in southern Africa come from Zimbabwe . Earlier dates of, for example, 3000 before the present, have been noted but at this stage are not beyond doubt (Deacon 1984: 227).

The Stone Age pottery of southern Africa shows regional differences, as well as changes through time. The form and decoration on pottery varies on Zimbabwe Bambata ware, Cape coastal ware and pottery from inland sites (northern Cape and Natal Drakensberg region). Through time, changes in pottery are evident from sites in the northern Cape, East London and Matjes River, the Wilton name site in the eastern Cape, and De Kelders and Boomplaas in the southern Cape. In general, from more recent conclusions, it would appear that thinner,

more refined pottery preceded the relatively thick-walled pottery of the later period. This seems to suggest later regional adaptations of a previously finer art in pottery-making. Reinforced lugs and pointed bases on Cape coastal wares appear after 1600 before the present, and therefore seem to be a later development, not an earlier independent invention as previously thought (Deacon 1984: 276-278).

Khoi pastoralists were highly mobile, nomadic communities. They produced pottery with characteristic lugs and pointed and rounded bases which were easy to transport on pack-animals (Hall 1989: 8; Inskeep 1978: 72-116; Rudner 1968: 441-663; Sampson 1974: 405-438). Rudner has described the features of Strandloper pottery (pottery found along the Cape and Namibia coastal regions) in detail. He has illustrated examples of bowls and a variety of pots, bag-shaped, necked, spouted and elliptical. A number of rim designs, neck shapes and decorative techniques, including grooving, ridging, notching, combing, impressed patterns and incised lines, have been noted and illustrated (Rudner 1968: 617-663).

Dates of around 1500 years ago are well supported by a number of corroborative dates for Khoi pottery (Deacon 1984: 277). At the time of the Dutch settlement during the 17th century there is mention of locally made earthenware pots produced by the Khoisan. Various overseas visitors to the Cape region during the 17th, 18th and 19th centuries noted the indigenous pottery (Kolben 1731; Le Valliant 1790; Mentzel 1944; Thom 1952; Schapera 1933). According to Laidler, however, this ceramic art tradition was lost around the Cape Peninsula well before 1700 (Rudner 1968: 567). This pottery style, along with the Strandloper way of life, survived longer in other areas. It only appears to have died out generally in the southern Cape area in the latter half of the 18th century and in the eastern Cape region around the beginning of the 19th century (Rudner 1968: 566-567). Among the indigenous people of the Namaqualand region, pottery-making appears to have died out in the 17th century except among the poorer indigenous people with whom it survived until the middle of the 19th century (Rudner 1968: 568).

More recently eight rock shelter deposits in the northern Cape have been excavated and the

ceramic sequence reported (Sampson, Hart, Wallsmith and Blagg 1989). Five stylistic changes were noted. Grass-tempered plain wares appear with rare Khoi vessels around 900 A.D. Various stamp-decorated wares which follow are then abruptly replaced by a motif of double-punctuate rows. The final motif referred to as rocker-stamp wares appeared around 1770 A.D. and is believed to have continued until at least the 1870s. The appearance of rocker-stamp wares is associated with the first European items in the deposits (Sampson, Hart, Wallsmith and Blagg 1989: 3-16).

The first Iron Age communities were established in Natal and Transvaal before 300 A.D. As previously mentioned, knowledge of pottery-making reached the south-western Cape with Khoi pastoralists about 2000 years ago, at least a few centuries before the Iron Age settlements (Maggs 1986: 37). The source of both their pottery, however, is traced back to central and eastern Africa (Deacon 1984: 277). Early Iron Age communities do not appear to have spread over the whole of southern Africa. Their sites have not been reported from the highveld of the Transvaal and Orange Free State nor from anywhere west of the Great Fish River in the eastern Cape. In general, the occurrence of Iron Age pottery is therefore located east of the Great Fish River across an invisible ecological barrier formed around the 200 mm summer rainfall line. To the west of this line the rainfall was too uncertain for communities depending on crop production (Maggs 1986: 37-43).

The Bantu-speaking farming communities developed a wide range of functional and highly decorative pottery. The decorative style of their pottery has been the subject of detailed archaeological studies aimed at the relative dating of sites and assemblages by way of the distinctive changes in the style of their decoration through time. Pottery is invariably present on sites of the Iron Age and it is on the basis of pottery classification that the Iron Age has been subdivided into chronological stages and that different sites have been linked into cultural groupings (Inskeep 1978: 124). Yet, despite this over-extended concern with classification, there are still a number of competing classificatory schemes among different archaeologists and as Hall points out "... there are almost as many interpretations of the ceramic sequence as there are archaeologists of the Iron Age" (1987: 15). Generally speaking, however, there

appear to be indications of a system of communication represented by the evident conformity to a specific range of decorative styles. It is possibly by this means that different cultural groups were linked and maintained reciprocal friendships reaffirming their connections especially in case of need during times of hardship (Hall 1989: 8).

Generally speaking, Early Iron Age pottery is described as distinctly thick, pale-pink, buff or reddish in colour and decorated with free-flowing, bold designs. Later Iron Age pottery (which appears with a number of other cultural changes towards 1000 A.D.) tends to be thinner, grey and darker tones in colour, and more formally decorated, sometimes in red and black and with a highly burnished finish (Inskeep 1978: 124; Maggs 1986: 39). Iron Age pottery is found in much greater abundance than Later Stone Age pottery (Inskeep 1978: 119). The Bantu-speaking farmers of the Iron Age used large pots for carrying water and brewing beer. Smaller pots were used for cooking or as milk containers and a variety of open bowls functioned as serving dishes (Inskeep 1978:120). Pottery was also used for storage and ritual functions.

Early Iron Age pottery is dated roughly between 200 A.D. and 1000 A.D. and Later Iron Age pottery continued into the 19th century. The dairies of early travellers and missionaries made mention of the pottery types. Over the years contact with different people and new environments have resulted in the process of change in the way of life and material culture of Iron Age communities. It is with this observation in mind that Lawton executed a survey in the 1960s to record the techniques and pottery types still surviving among Bantu-speaking communities south of the Zambezi and Cunene rivers. Lawton describes the noticeable appearance of new techniques and forms copying Western articles such as vases, sugar-bowls, tea pots and casserole dishes and the gradual phasing out of many traditional vessels such as ritual earthenware articles (Lawton 1967: 1-21).

Ceramics of the VOC period (1652-1795)

Background

The background to ceramics at the Cape during the VOC period is mostly based on the pioneer research work of Woodward (1974; 1982), Volker (1954; 1959) and Jörg (1982). Volker has focussed on the Company records, their bills of lading and various rules and regulations pertaining to their porcelain trade. Jörg describes the Dutch-China trade in porcelain and surveys the particular types shipped to the Netherlands by the VOC Both Volker and Jörg provide us with a good framework for studying porcelain as a whole, particularly during the 17th and 18th centuries. Woodward's research is more specific to the Cape, making extensive use of information supplied by deceased inventories housed in the archives. Her conclusions from these sources provide us with an excellent background to the quantity and purpose of these ceramics. She emphasises the invaluable contribution which archaeological ceramics could make as a record of these fragile household items which would otherwise be unknown to us (1974: 202).

Porcelain was a rarity in 17th century Europe. The European aristocracy and the Netherlands bourgeoisie became more familiar with Oriental porcelain as a result of active Dutch trade in the East at this time. True porcelain manufacture was started in Europe in 1709 at Maison, becoming more generally manufactured only after another half-a-century. Until the end of the 18th century, true porcelain was a luxury in Europe. In the East, on the other hand, porcelain was cheap and plentiful. Company officials based in the East and later transferred elsewhere, soon took porcelain for granted as an indispensable commodity. Even before the middle of the 17th century the Company despatched porcelain to all its senior staff in Indian offices. Small quantities for official use first arrived at the Cape in the 1660s. The meagre remains of other porcelain prior to this date probably arrived with the personal goods of new settlers and officials or through private trade. The average class of person on Van Riebeeck's first expedition could hardly afford this luxury. Although Van Riebeeck is said to have lived like his subordinates in the early years of the settlement, he probably brought along certain pieces.

This is highly likely since he had a background as a merchant dealing in private trade in the East (Woodward 1974: 162).

The first decade of European settlement at the Cape was uncomfortable and primitive. Pewter and wood were used and porcelain was certainly not in daily use. Van Riebeeck was greatly concerned about the porcelain shortage caused by the civil war in China. Consequently he sent a sample of white clay to Batavia in 1661, mentioning that this clay was considered suitable for porcelain manufacture. Van Riebeeck was relieved by Wagenaer in 1662 by which time the porcelain shortage was still unchanged. Wagenaer was an authority on porcelain. During his two terms as Principal at Deshima (1657 to 1659), he played an important role in negotiating Dutch trade in Japanese porcelain. He supplied models and advice to the Japanese and ordered porcelain decorated to his own design. With this as his background, Wagenaer was appalled by the absence of ceramic ware at the Cape. He sent a letter to Batavia imploring the authorities to send potters to the Cape, otherwise he would have to request coarse porcelain. This implies that no porcelain had as yet been sent to the Cape (Woodward 1974: 163; Volker 1954:109), and furthermore, that none had been made at the Cape.

By 1665 the situation had received some attention because an entry of the 26th of September records the first successful attempt at producing diverse items of glazed earthenware (Böeseken 1973:222). By May 1666, the local products were sold at the market every two to three weeks (Böeseken 1973:389). As yet, the extent of this local manufacture cannot be estimated (Nilant 1963:38). Excavated examples of possible local manufacture have been reported from Stellenbosch (Stellenbossiana 1979:3; Vos 1981:356) and Muizenberg (Saitowitz 1982:59). Excavation by the author around the Fort de Goede and the Castle have also produced important samples which will be described in detail later in this chapter.

The first official consignment of porcelain was sent to the Cape in 1666. It is interesting to note that the first shipment consisted of 175 pieces of Persian ware. A second shipment of 140 pieces of Persian ware arrived in 1682. Technically, Persian ware is inferior to Chinese porcelain. The body type resembles the artificial soft-paste porcelains of eighteenth century

Europe. The Dutch handled mostly blue - and - white Persian ware from Kerman and Meshed emulating Chinese designs (Woodward 1974: 165).

The first official consignment of Japanese porcelain was despatched from Batavia in 1675. It consisted of 210 pieces. Another shipment of 258 pieces followed in 1676. The third and last recorded shipment of Japanese porcelain consisting of 220 pieces arrived in 1685. Woodward found inventory references to Japanese porcelain after 1685 and these could only have entered the Cape privately and largely "surreptitiously". The official shipments were probably of the Sino-Japanese type in blue and white and Company plates with the VOC monogram (Woodward 1974:165-166).

Officially, Chinese porcelain first arrived at the Cape in 1678, followed by a second shipment of 135 plates in 1681. These consignments were not typically K'ang Hsi which only appeared after 1683, by which time the imperial kilns were back in operation supplying Eastern, Western and VOC demands. Before 1683 consignments probably consisted more of coarse porcelain of southern Chinese origin such as Swatow or very late Transitional porcelain (described by Woodward as the grooved stand-ring family). After 1686 Chinese blue-and-white porcelain from Ching-tê-Chên and coarse porcelain from the south were supplied to the Cape. The Cape was only modestly supplied with porcelain for the rest of the 17th century, mostly for Company use (Woodward 1974:166).

Quantity

The inventories analysed by Woodward (1974:166-178) allow a glimpse of the quantity and variety of porcelain in use by different households. The first four inventories in the Cape Archives making mention of porcelain (1685;1692;1693;1694) demonstrates very small quantities. By the turn of the century (1699), however, a staggering difference is noted pointing to a sudden influx of porcelain to meet official as well as individual requirements (Woodward 1974:166-178).

Most households in or close to town by then possessed a few pieces of porcelain. By the mid-18th century, modest collections with an emphasis on interesting varieties were developing. By the latter part of the 18th century it seems that a larger cross-section of the Cape community had access to porcelain than the average European family. The local pottery works were not capable of producing cheap attractive table-ware and perhaps the natural consequence was the widespread use of sturdy Chinese porcelain, wherever available for purchase. Cape Town and its vicinity was naturally most plentifully supplied but smaller country towns such as Stellenbosch and Paarl also had their share of porcelain, as did stockfarmers and trekboers in the interior. In general, according to Woodward's analysis of the inventories, porcelain (and Delft ware) was certainly used more extensively before 1775 than has been previously realized (Woodward 1974: 166-178).

Variety

Although the Company handled a vast variety of porcelain types (Jörg 1982:148-153) those entering the Cape have only been hinted at in inventories and official records, and this is where archaeological remains can make a considerable contribution to our knowledge. As previously noted, consignments of Persian, Japanese and Chinese porcelain were despatched and pottery was locally produced and marketed.

Tin-glazed earthenware, which Woodward believes circulated in quantity at the Cape, is hardly even hinted at in the inventories. For this reason she believes that it is present anonymously. This assumption will be re-examined later in this study. When Delftware is specifically mentioned in one clear local entry, it is described as porcelain. In certain European inventories it is referred to as "Delft porcelain". The loose usage of the term "porcelain" at this time, when the secret of porcelain was still relatively unknown in Europe, is therefore not unexpected. Woodward has concluded that the presence of Delftware was included under the general term porcelain before 1760. After this, greater accuracy in descriptions appears to have been applied. Delftware is then described correctly as earthenware, housed in wall cupboards and display cabinets alongside porcelain, glass and silver. "In short, the inventories

are not a reliable guide and give an exaggerated, possibly a highly exaggerated, idea of the amount of porcelain in circulation, though the distortion is apparently rather less pronounced in the closing decades of the century". Volker, on the other hand, assumes that all general inventories of porcelain in the Company bills of lading refer to blue-and-white porcelain (Woodward 1974:162).

With reference to polychrome decorated porcelain, Woodward believes that the only pieces entered were those referred to as "Japaans porcelijn", describing the type of decoration rather than the country of origin. The reason for this assumption is that Japanese porcelain is known only to have entered the Cape officially before 1700 and the inventories using the term "Japaans porcelijn" date to the 18th century. No specific mention is made of K'ang Hsi "famille verte" or the popular "famille rose" armorial porcelain, all of which must have been present at the Cape (Woodward 1974:162).

Additional varieties are described as white, others as blue and one entry mentions red teapots. Red teapots and white teapots are both mentioned in the last quarter of the 17th century. The red teapots could have been either Chinese or Delft in terracotta (a low fired stoneware). The white teapots may have come from Chine-te-Chen or "blanc de chine" specimens from Fukien (Woodward 1974:162-173).

Oriental figures are mentioned from Muller's grotto of 1713. Johannes Muller was the landdrost of Stellenbosch and his rather unusual grotto was decorated with fine porcelain figures such as those of animals and castles (Valentyn 1726:158-161). These figures may have been of pearly white "blanc de Chine" from Fukien or "famille verte" and blue-and-white from Chine-te-Chen, polychromes from Arita and possibly a few odd pieces of Delft from Holland. The porcelain in Muller's estate, however, was the exception rather than the rule (Woodward 1974:162-173).

In early Cape inventories attempts were made at differentiating between porcelain, earthenware and differences in their sizes, but the rest appears to have been subject to a

tradition of general listing without attention to detail. The first local inventory to mention porcelain dates to 1686. However it is known that porcelain from Batavia arrived intermittently at the Cape from the 1660's onwards. The point here is that a description of the variety of porcelain used at the Cape can most realistically be arrived at from a combination of evidence from inventories, bills of lading and archaeological remains. The support of this broader data base will give much greater accuracy and definition to the variety in use.

Another aspect of variety were the different shapes in use. The most basic pieces of the 17th century included dishes, plates, bowls and saucers. Before 1700, however, dishes, plates, bowls, mustards, salts and beakers were predominantly made of pewter (Woodward 1974:165-171). From the early 18th century the "Kaststel" (garniture sets used as decorative pieces on top of cupboards) appears to have become very popular at the Cape, often even taking precedence over table-ware (Woodward 1974:169). Remaining intact garnitures made before 1750 are very rare today. Other purely decorative items to appear in inventories are small porcelain models of the lions of Buddha (Dogs of Fo). Ten of these dogs are listed between the Van Brakel (1699) and the Breda (1719) estates. These models appear to have had strong European appeal probably symbolising the prevalent mood of mysterious exoticism related to the East at the time (Woodward 1974:165-171).

Mentzel's descriptions of life at the Cape in the 1730s elaborate on the domestic occasions graced by porcelain. The tea ceremony was celebrated several times a day. A small tin or porcelain teapot was kept at hand practically the whole day. On special occasions such as a wedding celebration, enormous porcelain salad dishes larger than a yard in diameter were used. They were rarely found in Europe at the time. Other useful porcelain items mentioned by the mid 18th century include barber bowls, butter pots, chamber pots, lidded sauce-boats and cachepots. By the middle of the 18th century a plentiful supply of ordinary types of porcelain could be purchased. The later estates show that porcelain was in fairly general use, basically consisting of teaware, two or three dozen plates and dishes (Woodward 1974:172-177).

Inventories at the end of the 18th century are distinctly different from the earlier ones in terms of variety. After 1780 no single inventory gives an adequate picture of the porcelain items in circulation. Carafes, ewers and basins, gorgelets or gendis, jam bowls, ginger jars, soup plates, sugar pots, flower vases, mustard pots, beakers, hand cuspidors, jugs, hot-water plates, shell dishes, broth bowls and lids, pap-cups, chocolate cups, soup tureens with lids and stands and hot water bottles were additional items of variety. The dinner-service is conspicuously absent. Ordinary Chinese blue-and-white tableware was not dispatched to the Cape in complete services although it was possible to assemble a "matching" set of one or more common patterns (Woodwood 1974:177-178).

Trade, legal and illicit

Official records state that the Company servants and burgers at the Cape were supplied from Batavia with useful porcelain, mainly consisting of blue-and-white dishes, plates, bowls, cups and saucers. However, additional varieties entered through commissions by individuals and a great deal also as a result of legal or clandestine trade (Woodward 1974:161). In spite of the monopolistic tendencies of the Company, private trade flourished whenever a Dutch fleet came into Table Bay (Woodward 1974:166).

Company officers and crew were allowed to carry "Privilege tonnage". But besides this legal input, smuggling grew to be a serious problem especially between 1629 and 1740 (Glamann 1958: 238). Company servants engaged in private trade as a result of constant demand (Penn 1986:5). Cape citizens had ample opportunities to purchase at cheap rates from farmers of the interior and to sell at high prices to passing ships, and vice versa. The Cape was at an advantage for being the only place between Asia and Europe where Company employees could spend their wages and trade in returning shiploads of Eastern goods. In this regard the Cape had access to desirable Eastern goods, even more so than Holland (Penn 1986:5).

Several regulations concerning porcelain trade were issued in Batavia. These trade restrictions were obviously a means to monopolise the regimented economy of the Company. They were

mostly issued between 1690 and 1790. Among them were regulations allowing certain quantities to be shipped on private account. Increasing restrictions, however, discouraged the private shipment of large quantities. On 17 April 1793, a regulation was passed specifically relating to Cape inhabitants allowing trade with all the offices of the Company in the Indies, but specifically not in porcelain and other goods from China. Smuggling was the inevitable countermove to suppressing trade restrictions. The private illegal trader, however, faced harsh disciplinary measures possibly damaging his career as well as leading to confiscation of all seized goods which often entailed a heavy financial loss. The Chinese were subject to the same restrictions of trade as those in the Company. Their punishment for smuggling was often much harsher. In Japan, in one instance of 1686, fifteen Japanese were sentenced to death by the Governor for smuggling offences. Even so, the total sum of successfully smuggled goods was estimated at one million florins annually. It has been recorded that eastern markets were often flooded with smuggled imported goods. Smuggling therefore appears to have been indulged in on even a larger scale by the Chinese than by the more closely watched servants of the Company (Volker 1959: 4-7).

Volker proposes that the most profitable dealings in illicit Japanese wares would not have been the ordinary run-of-the-mill porcelain. The common Japanese blue-and-white wares were relatively expensive compared with those of the Chinese. On the other hand, the illicit trade would have focussed on items out of the ordinary such as polychromes, Kakieman and "Nishiki" porcelain (Volker 1959:10). Volker argues further that the trade between Japan and the European market from 1682 to 1795 was a complete failure. None of the porcelain ordered by the Company ever reached the European market. He therefore emphasizes that without private trade by both the Company servants and the Chinese, no late 17th or 18th century Japanese porcelain would have reached Europe at all (Volker 1959:70).

From 1690 private commissions by Company servants were allowed in Batavia but restricted to tea and porcelain. Private chests were inspected on departures and arrivals. The rules and regulations were subject to continuing change but 40% was the average rate for freight costs throughout most of the 18th century. Apart from special commissions, many of the passengers

and crew carried chests of porcelain and tea to sell in Europe. However, before reaching Europe, at the Cape, they were probably tempted to overspend or to accept good prices offered for their porcelain. Rare pieces of Japanese Imari (until the 1720s), K'ang Hsi "famille verte", Cantonese enamel-decorated wares, figure-work and vases were shown preference above and beyond the ordinary blue and white which were most typical of the Company's own trade (Woodward 1974:172).

Illicit private trading was rife at the Cape even though, officially, the Company held a strict monopoly over trade. The Company acted surprisingly leniently towards private trade. Mentzel emphasises that the Company condoned private trade which provided a livelihood for a large portion of the Cape population. Private trading was facilitated by the practice of taking in passengers and crew as paying guests. This method of bartering between host and guest behind closed doors was most amenable to the purchase of European goods and delicacies from those on route to the East and porcelain, tea, coffee, lacquers, Chinese silks, Indian cotton and spices from those homeward-bound. Purchases were mostly intended for re-sale especially also to up-country visitors in Cape Town. Almost everyone in Cape Town participated in this undoubtedly substantial activity which, unfortunately has left no official record. It is for this reason that a much greater variety of porcelain occurred at the Cape during the VOC period than the official bills of lading would suggest (Woodward 1974:173).

Much more work is needed on documentary sources and the potential of archaeological signatures to construct the cultural context of smuggling at the Cape. One good example of this kind of study has been executed by Schmidt and Mrozowski (1993:32-42) in which they found that smuggling was an integral and popularly accepted part of the Rhode Island, New England economy during the early and mid-18th century. They concluded that smuggling outside of New England can be seen to have parallels and continuities, sometimes as a common thread of all colonial relationships, in which attempts made by the colonial power to regulate the economy of its colonies seem invariably to be met by resistance. Smuggling was a complex behavioral phenonemon subject to change through time. It is an activity that leaves a limited and fragmentary record because of its highly secretive nature, but archaeology has

the power to testify more concretely about the material correlates of this activity, the ways in which goods were smuggled and why and how smuggling techniques changed through time.

The transitional and British period (1795-1900)

During the 18th century the commercial and maritime position of the Netherlands was steadily declining. By 1793 the Dutch East India Company became bankrupt and finally disintegrated. For Cape Town this meant the end of an unsound economic system based on the monopolistic commercial powers of the Company. During Company rule there was no freedom of trade which resulted in rife dissatisfaction among burghers throughout the Colony. As a result, there was little more than token resistance when the English arrived in 1795 (Immelman 1955:3-13).

During the first British Occupation (1795-1803) all the restrictions on trade introduced by the Company were swept away. Goods from the British empire were granted entry without any duty (Immelman 1955:15). This obviously also applied to British ceramics which were allowed free entry. Apart from this incentive, the ceramic industry of 18th century England saw a number of original inventions such as bone china, creamware, pearlware and not least of all, the process of transfer printing. This technique of decorating ceramics introduced in the 1750s revolutionized the British ceramic industry and played an important part in its great economic success (Williams-Wood 1981: 9). Pottery factories in England were fully fledged commercial enterprises thriving on their success in the market-place. Transfer-printed wares were much easier and cheaper to produce and thus extended the market among the rapidly expanding middle classes. The concommitant increase in pressure to expand production gave rise to the mechanical repetition of stock patterns and the beginnings of mass produced ceramics (Morley-Fletcher 1984: 90-93).

In 1779, pearlware, as it is now called, was introduced by Josiah Wedgwood. This cream-bodied earthenware was covered with a blue-tinged glaze so as to give the appearance of a whiter fabric, copied by many British factories soon after its introduction. The most

characteristic early common decoration is the molded shell edge pattern with blue or green under-glaze painting. During its odd fifty years of production between 1780-1830, it underwent many changes forming a link between the two distinct ware types, namely creamware and white earthenware and as such succeeded in permanently changing the accepted standard of tableware (Sussman 1977: 105-111).

Transfer-printing does not seem to have become popular on earthenwares until the end of the 18th century. Instead, the use of hand-painted decoration, such as the simple Chinese-house patterns also used on pearlware, was borrowed from porcelain. The earliest transfer-printed willow pattern and related chinoiseries occur on pearlware. The earliest willow design is believed to have been shipped to China for use on export porcelain which first arrived back in England 1792 and so it follows that all willow pattern Chinese porcelain is attributed to dates after this period (Noël Hume 1985:130).

The original designs of transfers were inspired by the fine ceramics imported from China. British ceramics between 1780 and 1800 are therefore attributed to the "Chinoiserie Period", in which Chinese designs were either copied or adapted for use on transfer-printed ceramics (Coysh and Henrywood 1989:8). Blue and white transfer-printed wares probably achieved their popularity because of their resemblance to Chinese porcelain which, at this time, was becoming increasingly difficult to obtain (Copeland 1982: 7).

It is also likely that the production of local European-style coarse earthenware, which was noted in the 17th century, was continued into the 18th century. The knowledge of this type of pottery-making was also probably carried to the interior (Nilant 1963:38).

In 1803 when the British returned the Cape to the Batavian Republic, many of the English merchants departed. The Dutch Government ruled the Cape more economically, credit dried up and poverty became apparent. There was insufficient cash to purchase imports from Europe and to buy goods from passing ships. A serious shortage of many articles occurred. Under Batavian rule all the monopolistic policies of the Company were abandoned. However,

all Cape imports were compelled to come from the Netherlands and its colonies and all exports were to go back there. The Dutch sea-borne traffic, however, was nearly completely over-taken by English fleets and import and export duties were payable on all goods apart from those required for agriculture or cattle farming (Immelman 1955:17-23). During Batavian rule the Cape therefore also suffered from a shortage in ceramics along with many other goods, and neither the import duties nor the decline in the Dutch sea-borne activities on which all imports were dependant, helped the situation.

In 1806 the British occupied the Cape for the second time. Whereas previously merchants' homes were used for trading, small retail shops then started making their appearance reaching 42 by 1811. Commerce improved year by year. In 1817 an informal meeting was held among leading merchants of the Colony to address commercial concerns. By 1819 the foundation stone of the Commercial Exchange was laid to become the main venue where merchants of the town could meet to discuss all matters of trade interest (Immelman 1955:26-58). It became apparent that there was a need for the commercial community of Cape Town to organise itself to concentrate on its own welfare. The Commercial Exchange was partly a result of this concern and the increase in retail shops promoted a much wider distribution in the trade of ceramics.

In 1825 a resolution was passed at a general meeting of merchants, ship-owners and manufacturers in London to form a society called the Cape of Good Hope Trade Society to deal with Cape commercial affairs in London (Immelman 1955: 59). By this means the trade relations between the Cape and London were further strengthened and the growing British ceramic industry could effectively play its role as imported merchandise. The channels of import-export relations were therefore already at this stage firmly established between London and the Cape.

Concurrently, the 19th century British ceramic industry was coming into its own. Exports from North Staffordshire expanded enormously from the late 18th century (Copeland 1982: 7) and were therefore ready for the Cape market of the 19th century. Designs of all kinds

were produced for the British local and export market (Copeland 1982: 7). In general, the 19th century ceramic designs were largely devoted to revivals of former shapes (Honey 1963: 47). A great variety of additional forms such as vegetable dishes, tureens, sauce boats, jars, jugs, ewers and basins, mugs, jardinieres, ornaments and a range of momentos, came into high fashion (Charleston 1971: 282-309).

During the first quarter of the 19th century there is mention of red-coloured earthenware made near the Fish River. Local clays were purified and then used, gum Arabic was applied to the inside of pots and lead powder was sprinkled over it producing a yellow finishing colour. Firing took place in a hole dug into the ground and covered with dung (Kannemeyer 1951: 57).

Also in the local vein, James Hancock, a British settler, is known to have started a pottery at Salem (south of Grahamstown) in 1822. He was born in Staffordshire where he worked as a china-painter. At Salem he experienced some difficulty, probably in establishing a market among the humble new immigrants. He moved to Port Elizabeth in 1827 and after re-establishing himself financially, he started making pottery again. He produced glazed domestic pottery, receiving numerous orders, even from Cape Town. "No specimens of his work have yet been found" (Nilant 1963: 39). Hancock died in 1837.

Apart from the aforementioned activity of which we are aware, throughout the 19th century most of the locally required ceramics were imported, mainly from Britain. The choice available was dependant on the commercial market and the profit involved, not necessarily on the aesthetic value of the pieces. Many rejects found their way to the interior. On the whole, the imported pieces were mostly factory products of lesser quality in a limited number of designs so that breakages could be easily replaced (Nilant 1963: 39-40).

Staffordshire wares were exported to many parts of the world but it appears that particular goods were being made for specific markets. South African assemblages of the 1830s and 1840s in the eastern Cape have been reported to reflect an emphasis on more colourful

ceramics of a kind found some half-a-century earlier on American sites. Local newspaper advertisements were also found to stress this preference (Hardwick 1989; Winer and Deetz 1990: 71).

During the early years of the 19th century (1800-1815) a break-away from the Chinoiserie influence was imminent. European features such as Palladian arches, hills behind Chinese scenery and a dense profusion of flowers on border patterns started to intrude. The Chinoiserie designs became more standardised into patterns such as the well-known Willow Pattern. Subjects of interest were sought from illustrated books with topographical engravings and botanical illustrations becoming prime sources (Coysh and Henrywood 1989:10).

Between 1815 and 1835 dinner services were designed with a series of patterns of picturesque appeal based on contemporary engravings such as those entitled "Antique Scenery" "British Views" "Metropolitan Scenery" "Picturesque Scenery". Floral border patterns were sometimes used as the trade mark of the maker (Coysh *et al* 1989:10). By 1835 green, sepia and mulberry became popular colours in ceramics. Services were sometimes printed in two-tone (Coysh *et al* 1989:10). Black, red, purple, brown and yellow printing were all used by the second quarter of the 19th century (Charleston 1971:282). The middle class market was nearly saturated and the lower classes required cheaper services. There was a decline in the quality and patterns became even more standardized. Flow-blue wares (blue printing with a blurred effect) became popular particularly for export (Copeland 1982:4; Coysh *et al* 1989:10).

The Copyright Act of 1842 prevented the copying of engravings from books. Original designs were furthermore registered as protection from piracy. The consequence was an adoption of romantic scenery following a certain formula which inevitably included imaginary scenes, water-scapes and a pagoda, mosque, castle or classical building on one side of the water. The other side depicted a prominent tree, a fountain, an urn or a pillared balcony with mountains in the distance and people in the foreground (Coysh *et al* 1989:10). Relief-decorated wares in a variety of materials and colours was another important decorative technique first started

being extensively utilized during the mid-19th century (Charleston 1971:285).

Between the 1860s and the 1880s the general trend was that white dinner services with only printed borders became the fashion and brightly coloured ceramics came into demand (Coysh *et al* 1989:11).

The "Japan" patterns of the early 19th century were represented by angular patchwork motifs which were used throughout the 19th century. A much stronger Japanese influence in the design of ceramics and industrial pottery can be clearly noticed from the "rediscovery" of Japanese art in the 1860s. Under this influence the formalities of border patterns and symmetrical arrangement of motifs were swept away and ground surfaces were sometimes left completely unadorned. The Japanese influence was of crucial importance not only in the development of Art Nouveau and modern styles of ceramic but also in the explosion of activity in artist pottery (Atterbury 1982: 191; Charleston 1971: 299-300).

In the last twenty years of the 19th century independent studio artists actively experimented with new ideas in ceramics to achieve the most exciting and beautiful effects. The most dramatic effects were achieved by experimenting with temperature variations, different glaze effects, direct contact with flames in the kiln, reducing or oxidizing atmospheres, crackled glazing in imitation of the early Chinese ceramics and experimentation with stoneware. To display the finishing effects, the shapes became simpler, also returning to Oriental influences (Atterbury 1982:191-192: 207).

The Cape subscribed to all the fashions in European 19th century ceramics, especially to the British Industrial Revolution with its consequent effects on the Cape, a British Colony under the strong influence of British rule and British culture. Apart from the artistic craft of indigenous potters, it was only during the Second World War that the Cape once again braved the re-establishment of its local ceramic industry.

Industrialization suddenly increased tremendously and the Cape desperately needed to fall

back on its own resources (Nilant 1963: 40). From then on numerous pottery factories and studios developed with a vast output feeding both local and export markets.

CHAPTER 5

THE GRAND PARADE

Introduction

The Grand Parade is a large open space in the heart of modern central Cape Town. It is presently used as a car park with over 1000 bays. It is situated in front of the Cape Town City Hall on the one side, opposite the Cape Town Castle, (one of the oldest surviving 17th century architectural features at the Cape) with the large Central Post Office building on the west side and the extensive multi-million underground shopping development, the Golden Acre, on the north side (Fig. 1b). This open space was originally the site of the first fort established by the Dutch East Indian Company in 1652. When the fort was abandoned the garrison was moved to the adjacent Castle but the site of the fort was retained as a parade ground for the soldiers. Since, the Parade has become an important square for civic functions, military parades, promenading the latest Victorian fashions, bi-weekly market stalls and more recently, of political rallies, including the speech by Nelson Mandela in 1992 after his release from 27 years of political imprisonment.

In the 1970s the west side of the Parade was occupied by two dilapidated rows of stalls and a building called the "Movie Snaps Corner". In October 1981 a "Development Plan for the Grand Parade and its Environs" was published by the Town Planning Branch of the City of Cape Town Engineer's Department (Aikman *et al* 1981). The proposed redevelopment emphasized the incorporation of the Victorian City Hall into the design while retaining a view of Table Mountain as a backdrop, re-establishing visual links between the Castle and the Parade, development of parking arrangements, upgrading of the dilapidated stalls, tree planting on the Parade periphery and renovation of the Movie Snaps Corner.

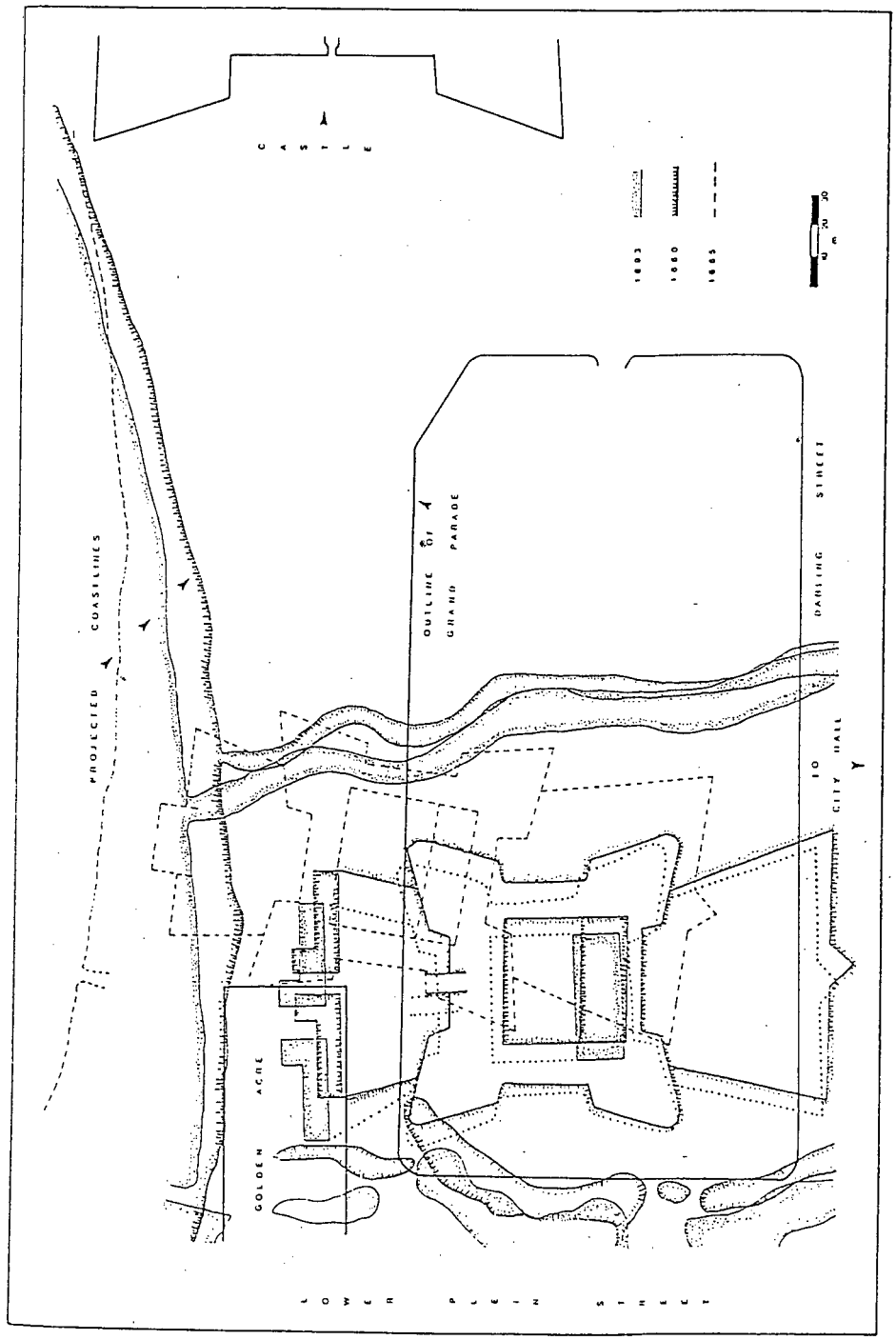


Fig. 1b. **The predicted location of the Fort on the present-day Grand Parade, from historical map overlays.**

Contractual flexibility was introduced to allow for any archaeological contingencies and for an excavation to determine the exact location of remains of Jan van Riebeeck's Fort de Goede Hoop of 1652. The South African Cultural History Museum was approached in connection with the archaeological monitoring of the site.

In the meantime, a project had been initiated utilizing superimposed historical map overlays of central Cape Town. The aim of the project was to produce a series of map overlays, brought to the same scale, to be used to predict the archaeological potential of the central city area (Abrahams 1985; Argus 1983b). With the use of these superimposed historical map overlays, it was possible to identify the exact site of Van Riebeeck's Fort on the western side of the Grand Parade (Fig. 1b, 2a, 2b, 2c).

In 1966, indications of Van Riebeeck's Fort had first been discovered when a postal tunnel was constructed to connect the New Station to the General Post Office. This tunnel cut across the north-east corner of the Parade. Artefacts were salvaged from this cutting (Emms and Speed 1966; Emms 1975; 1976). The ceramic fragments were found to date to the 17th century (Woodward 1974: 202). Coffin burials thought to relate to Jan van Riebeeck's Fort, were uncovered (Voigt 1977:107-122). There were thus ample indications of fruitful archaeological prospects on this site.

Implementation of the 1981 proposals for development of the Parade by the City Council began in September 1983 (Abrahams 1985). Test trenches were excavated during the previous month. On 20 September 1983 part of the south western bastion of Fort de Goede hoop was identified in the trenches dug for the footings of one of the stalls (Argus 1983a; Burger 1983a; 1983b; 1987; Cape Times 1983a; 1983b; Rapport 1983). Monitoring of artefacts recovered from the City Council trenches proceeded, with systematic excavations being undertaken in other areas (Abrahams 1989).

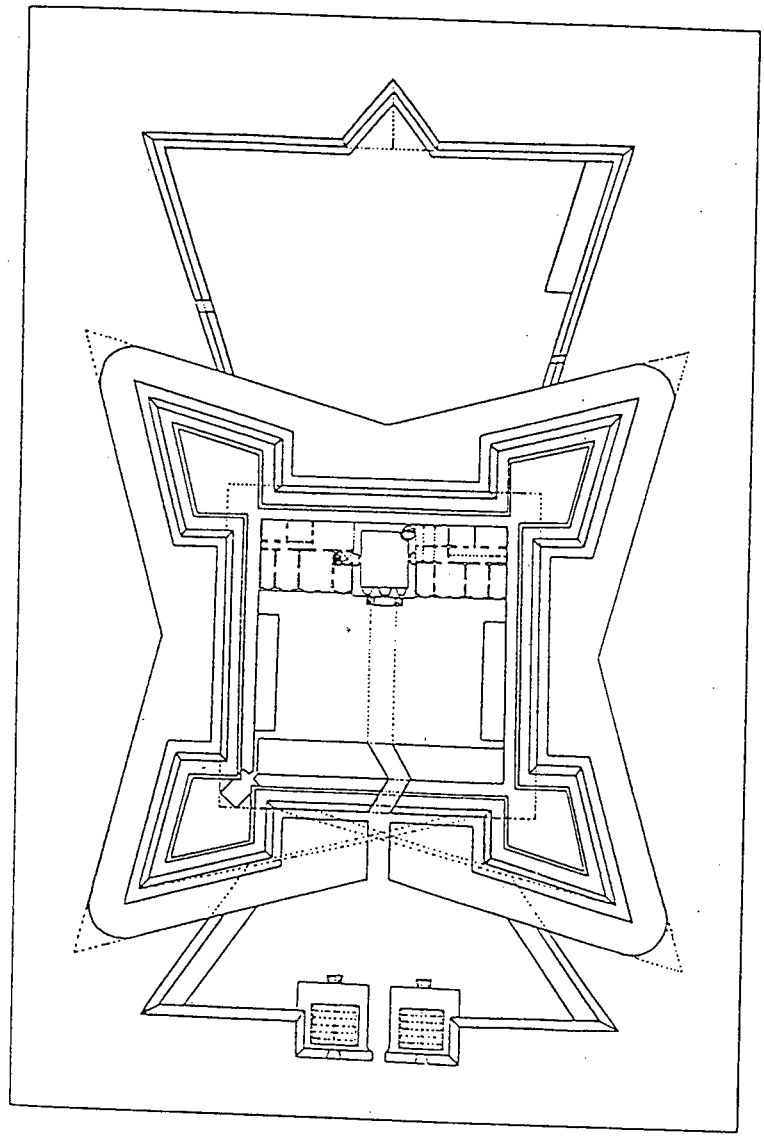


Fig. 2a. Plan of the Fort 1656, Cape Archives, M1/23. The circle indicates the part of the Fort uncovered.

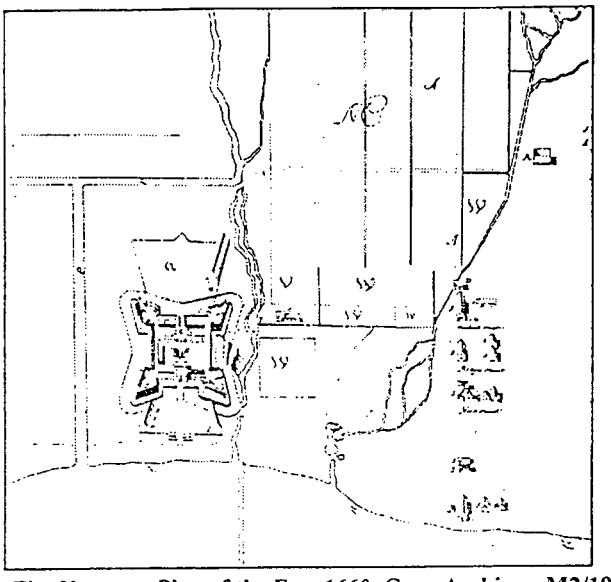


Fig. 2b. Plan of the Fort 1660, Cape Archives, M2/19.

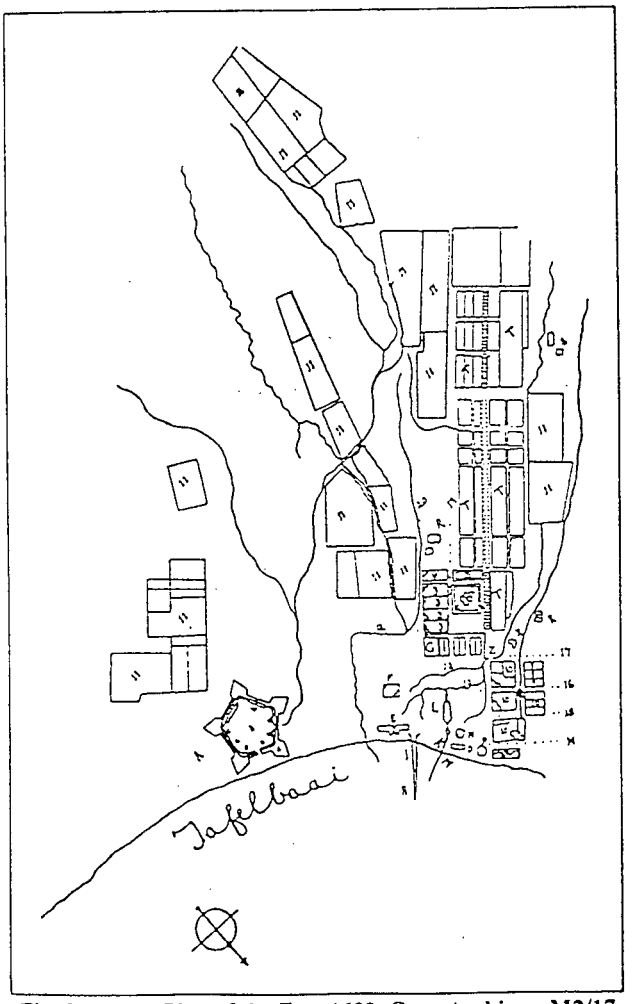


Fig. 2c. Plan of the Fort 1693, Cape Archives, M2/17.

In December 1990 and January 1991 further excavations were undertaken by the author (Abrahams 1990b; 1990c; 1991a; 1992a). The objectives of this programme were aimed at:

*Establishing whether the process of acculturation of indigenous peoples at the Cape is reflected in the archaeological record of the site.

*Obtaining information regarding the role of the Cape in the trade and economic history of the 17th and 18th century world.

*Obtaining additional artefactual evidence of the 17th and 18th century material culture at the Cape.

*Obtaining additional information relevant to the site in order to, contradict, or supplement, earlier records.

*A survey of archaeological heritage management, public interest in and awareness of conservation.

Site history

Commander Jan van Riebeeck and his crew arrived in Table Bay on 6 April 1652. On the next day Van Riebeeck left his ship to choose the site of the Fort. The site chosen was alongside the Fresh River, the most suitable spot for the defensive Fort and for the cultivation of fresh supplies and breeding of livestock necessary for revictualizing passing ships. The site was located on the seafront east of the Fresh River so that its water could be led into the moat around the Fort, in keeping with contemporary Dutch fortifications. The calculation, planning and measuring up of the Fort took them into the next day. There were 100 men in total, 94 of whom were designated to work on the Fort.[1]

The Seventeen Directors of the Dutch East India Company had given instructions for a square Fort with four bastions (Fig. 3). The ground measurements were left up to Van Riebeeck and his assistants. The measurements of the walls and corners were illustrated in a manuscript by Johannes Mulder in 1662 (Fig. 4a; 4b). The depth of the moat would be determined by the

type of ground and the measurements could be altered if necessary (Fig. 4c). After laying out the position of the Fort, construction commenced on 10 April.[2]

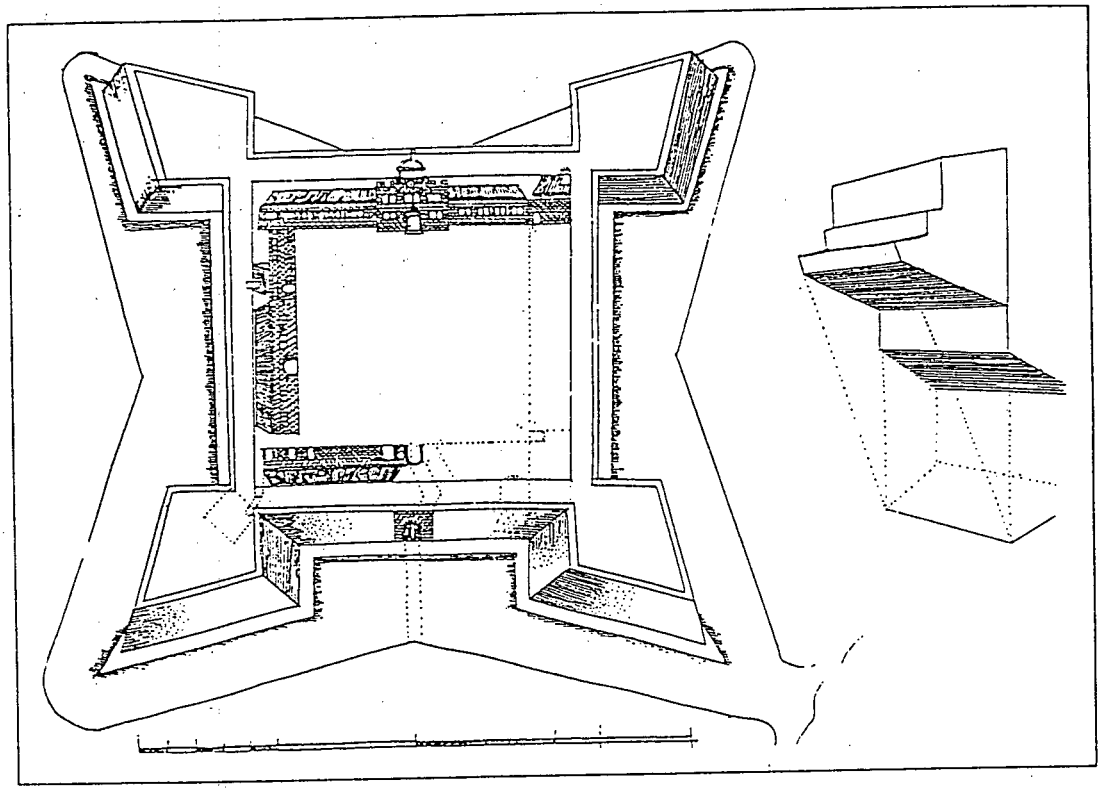


Fig. 3. Plan of the Fort 1653, Cape Archives, M1/21.

Local clay was considered to be suitable for building. The Fort was marked out on a relatively flat plain. The ground was still loose and gritty since it was the dry season and to improve its condition, brushwood was mixed into the soil. In certain places the ground was too hard to dig, but it was thought that the coming rains might solve this problem. A search was to be undertaken for more suitable soils to stack on the outside of the walls for protection against heavy rain. The moat was also marked out on the same day. One of the bastions abutted on to the river and this would facilitate the flow of water into the moat.[3]

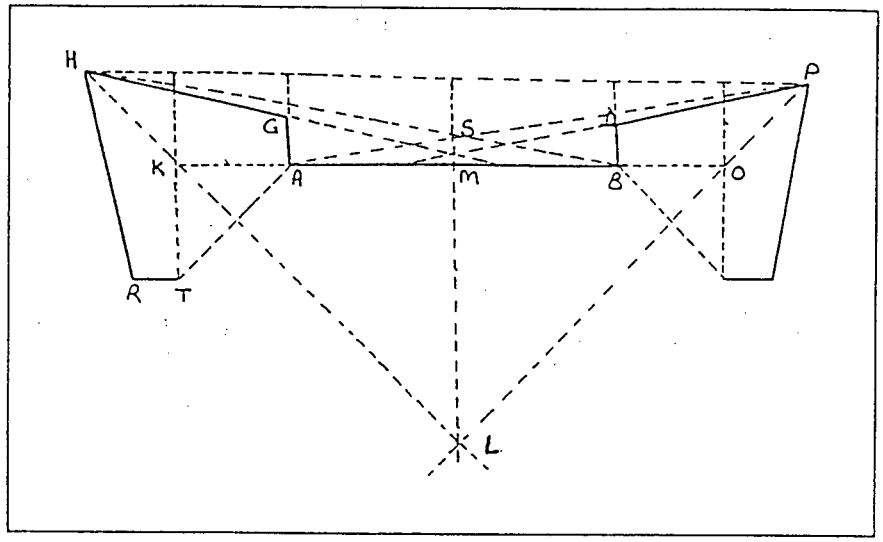


Fig. 4a. Measurements of the walls and corners, with amendments by Ras (1959:10) from a manuscript compiled by Johannes Mulder in 1662.

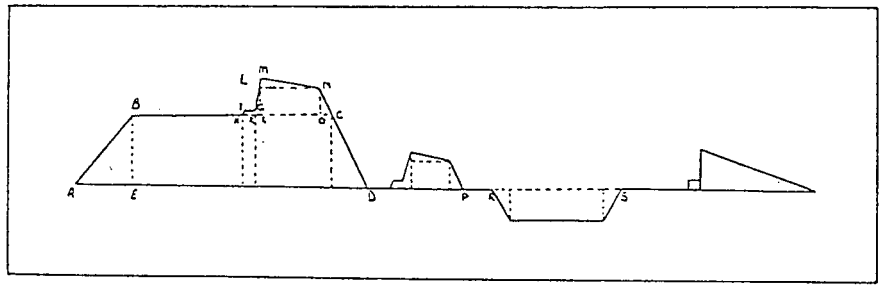


Fig. 4b. Cross-section of the surrounding wall, breast-work and moat, with amendments by Ras (1959:11) from a manuscript compiled by Johannes Mulder in 1662.

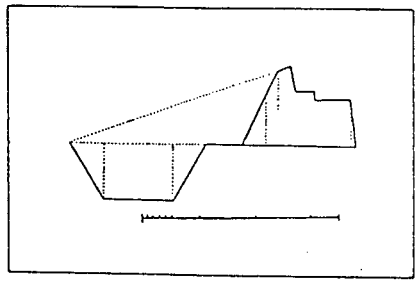


Fig. 4c. Section of the moat and rampart in 1653, enlarged from map in the State Archives, The Hague, Chart 814/Cape Archives, M1/21.

Tents were temporarily put up to protect the ammunition off-loaded from the *Reijger* until the building materials needed for the storage sheds were available, unfortunately packed at the bottom of the *Drommedaris*. Van Riebeeck instructed that the two opposing bastions be completed with cannons to be placed on them as a protective measure.4 The two bastions were to be built to an initial height of 4 feet with a 6 foot wide breastwork on top to enable his men to bring the guns on to the ramparts. The Fort was also to be encircled with a breastwork of the same height and width. In the meanwhile carpenters were steadily working on the woodwork for the dwelling-houses and stores. [5]

On 26 April 1652 the southern bastion was completed but the ground at the northern point was too hard and stoney, causing a delay. In the meanwhile another bastion was started together with excavation of the cellar under the store. On 30 April Commander van Riebeeck and Captain Hooghsaet lay the first stone for the store and the dwelling-house. The bastion was only worked on again after the surrounding breastwork had been built to its required height. The curtain wall at the northern point of the Fort was completed up to four feet.[6]

By 12 May the building was as yet unroofed, and the square of the Fort had been completed. Later in May a section of a building and 26 feet of a make-shift curtain-wall was put up. The building was roofed with planking covered by tarred sails to protect the goods off-loaded from the *Reijger*. Of the expected 7000 building bricks, only 5000 had been sent from Holland. Many more were needed to build the store, powder-magazine and two boilers for extracting train-oil, each of which required 2 000 bricks. [7]

Within a month, the wood of the sheds was splitting since no paint or oil were available. The ships supplied sails for extra cover but there was insufficient tar to make them waterproof. An urgent request was forwarded by Van Riebeeck to Batavia for bricks, pitch, linseed-oil and paint. On 15 May, the naming of Fort De Goede Hoop took place as prescribed by the Seventeen Directors of the Company. The four bastions were named after the ships in the bay, the *Drommedaris* (south bastion), the *Walvisch* (east bastion), the *Oliphant* (west bastion), and the *Reijger* (northern bastion). [8]

By the end of May 1652 little housing was yet available for the crew. The improvised wooden sheds could not keep the rain out. The damp conditions, lack of nutritious food and continuous work without rest took its toll on the work-force. The rate of casualties became a serious problem. By June, the majority of people was still housed in tents. The houses in the Fort were thatched, albeit repeatedly, since a knowledgeable tradesman was not available and this was the only roofing material at hand. [9] The supply of wood ran out and Van Riebeeck went on an inspection behind Table Mountain where a plentiful supply was located in Hout Bay in October 1652. Van Riebeeck considered the possibility of transporting wood by boat since there was a shortage of wagons and manpower. [10]

On 3 August everybody moved from the beach into the Fort. The northern bastion was by then 16 feet in height and work on the southern bastion was progressing rapidly. Assistance with the building was obtained from visiting ships, but the men were deserting and there was mutiny among the garrison and progress was thus extremely slow. [11]

The so-called Saldanhas (indigenous Khoikhoi) arrived in October and provided the much-needed meat through barter of their cattle and sheep. The building of the walls of the Fort continued and, on 21 October, a circular trench 8 feet wide and 4 feet deep was started for the cattle kraal. Further strengthening of the Fort took place. The earth in the moat was very hard, loosened by picks and mattocks. Many shovels and spades were broken and the wheel-barrows were getting very worn but a lack of small nails and manpower precluded their repair. [12]

The south-east winds caused further delays in the work, which was postponed until 4 November. Two of the three pillars and beams of the new "corps de garde" (12 feet high, roof included, which was two feet lower than the wall and breastwork) were broken and blown to one side. Many were in hospital from work exhaustion with no nutritious food available to restore them. Fortunately the Saldanhas returned again in November and December with cattle and sheep, somewhat relieving the threat of starvation. The Saldanhars were enticed to barter

their cattle and sheep to obtain adequate stock for breeding purposes. The kraal was accessible to wild animals and required a continuous watch since the square inside the Fort was too small for all the livestock. A stronger kraal with an eight feet high breastwork, and a ditch from which the cattle could drink, was planned at the back of the Fort between the Drommedaris and Oliphant bastions. [13]

In 1653, with the outbreak of war between England and the Netherlands, Van Riebeeck was instructe to reinforce the Fort and to leave all other matters in abeyance. The Cape of Good Hope was a strategic point on the trade route to the East and needed to be safe-guarded, and the Fort was required to be in a condition that ensured its safety from an unexpected attack by the English or other enemies. [14]

By the middle of April the inhabitants of the Fort were fairly well-protected from any attack by the Khoi. Marauding wild animals such as lions were kept out by the walls of the Fort. The cannons were inadequate to ward off attacks from the bay and the poor location of the Fort meant that it could be fired upon from the surrounding mountains. The redoubt Duijnhoop was built at the mouth of the Salt River to prevent landing at that point. [15]

When work on the Fort was nearing completion, the square was found to be 12 feet longer than its original ground plan. This inaccuracy was ascribed to the fact that a measuring chain was not available when the Fort was first marked out. The walls were lower by 20 feet than had been prescribed. The rampart was 10 feet wide to allow cannon to be moved from one bastion to the other although there was some question as to whether they were strong enough to carry heavier cannon. By April 1653 the walls of the Fort had been plastered with sods both on the inside and outside to ensure their durability. Final work on the Walvisch and Oliphant bastions was completed by June 1653 and work on the more permanent dwelling-houses and stores was started. The 70 foot length of one of the curtain walls was used as one of the walls for a double-storey house while the other walls 18 feet wide and 16 feet high were added. The lower section was used as store-rooms and the upper section as living quarters. A stone building seven feet higher than the walls of the Fort, was erected in the middle. The roof was

flat in the redoubt-style. A cellar was dug out underneath and later used as a prison which became known as the "donker gat" (the dark hole). The purpose of the stone building, named the "kat", was to provide a stronghold in case of an attack.[16]

Thus, after a year, the Fort was said to have been in a reasonably defensible condition but the establishment of a viable refreshment station was not yet accomplished. Building materials such as bricks and lime were obtained from Batavia and Holland. It was only when the Directors informed Van Riebeeck that the expense was too high that local brick and lime kilns were erected. Khoi labour was enticed with arrack and tobacco to help with the cartage of wood. The first house of locally produced bricks was started in June 1654. When the shell resources for lime in Table Bay were depleted, Robben Island shells were used. Condemned exiles collected the shells on the Island.[17]

At the beginning of July 1654, work was started on the cattle kraal at the back of the Fort. The old kraal inside the Fort, thoroughly fertilized by manure, was turned into a garden. A palisade was added to increase the height of the walls around the Fort to 16 feet. On 31 December 1653, eighteen months after the foundation of the fort had been laid, Van Riebeeck reported to the Directors, "... ons Fort is jegenwoordigh in volkomen deffentie"; the job of completing the Fort had been accomplished.[18]

On 1 August 1654 the Walvisch bastion and sections of the curtain wall collapsed. Repair work required constant attention from then onwards. After a few downpours, sections of the Fort had to be rebuilt from the foundations. Small wonder that news of peace with England on 15 August 1654 came as such great relief. Branches and "rijsbossen" were mixed into the sods for strengthening the rebuilt walls. Development of the garden received attention.[19]

The heavy rains in June 1655 caused a great deal of damage to the clay walls of the Fort. The rear curtain had entirely collapsed from one point to the other. The intention was to rebuild it and all the others with laths interwoven with rushes two or three feet high. The required wood came from three miles away. Seven or eight hundred poles were needed besides all the

rushes. It was, however, clear that the walls would eventually have to be replaced with bricks. The buildings inside the Fort were completed by 25 March 1656. The height of the "kat" was increased for defence purposes. Outbuildings and other work were next on the agenda. [20]

In 1657 Commissioner Rykloff van Goens visited the Cape and gave instructions for the planned moat to be dug and the construction of two inner curtain walls in the Fort. The thatched roofs of the houses inside the Fort were replaced by tiles in 1659 to prevent a fire hazard. During Commissioner van Goens' stay, land was allocated to free burghers outside of the Fort. This resulted in the first Khoikhoi-Dutch War, which began in 1659, and the Fort was under threat since the Khoikhoi could easily storm the sloping walls of the Fort and the paling was badly rotten. Another palisade of eight feet - four inches width and two inch thickness was put up around the Fort at the bottom of the berm. The peace with England did not last for long before a conflict of interest arose over commercial matters. The moat of the Fort was therefore increased in width and depth and the water was dammed up at the Reijger bastion. During this time sections of the walls of the Fort again collapsed as well as the whole Walvisch bastion . Branches and "rijsbossen" were again mixed into the sods for strengthening and the walls were to be supplied with a strong ironwood paling and the berm with a new palisade. [21]

English and French attacks were feared in 1661. The garrison was therefore increased by 100 to 150 men. By 6 May 1662, when Zacharias Wagenaar took over command from Jan van Riebeeck, the garrison totalled 250 individuals. A resolution was passed to increase the height of the brick houses on either side of the entrance so that the loft could be partly used as quarters for the soldiers and partly as an ammunition store. [22]

Various recommendations for a new hospital, jetty, enlargement of the kraal at the rear of the Fort and the rebuilding of the old hall or "kat" across the Company's food store with bricks to prevent the possibility of a fire in the brandy rooms and supply stores, had not been implemented by 1666. This also applied to recommendations that the seafront hornwork be extended (Fig. 5) and for the construction of a kitchen, hospital, smithy and quarters for the

workers, although work on certain of these projects was initiated in the meantime. [23]

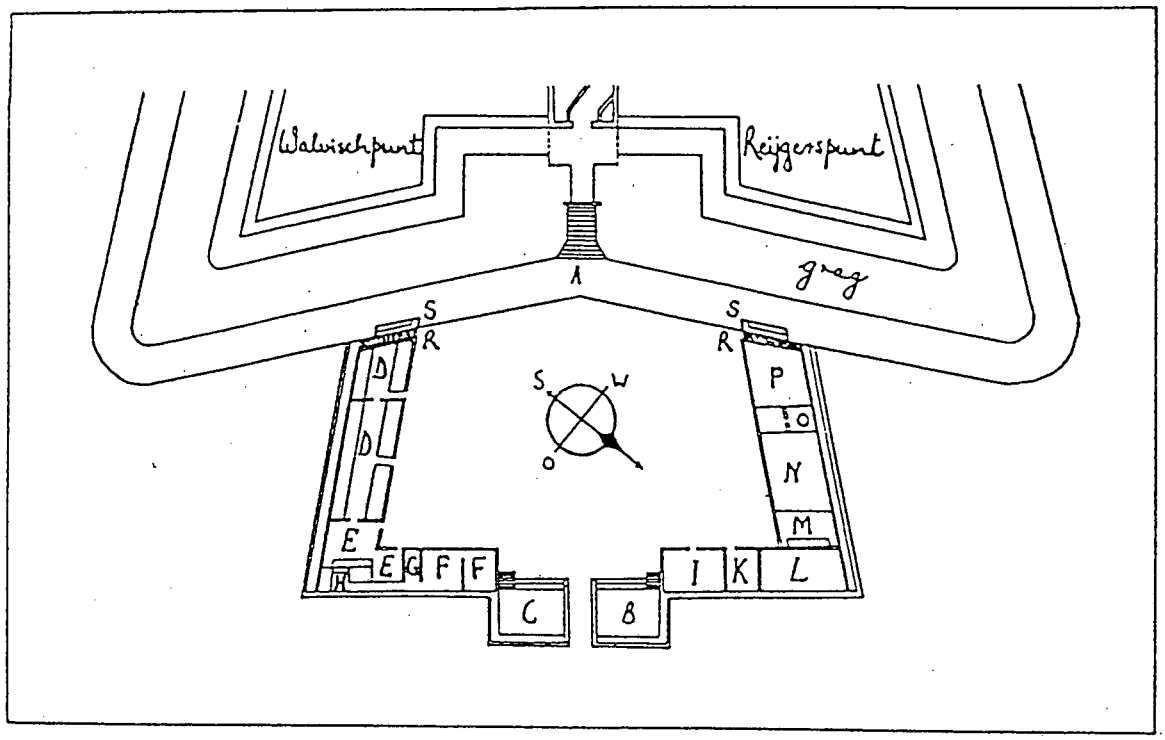


Fig. 5. **Plan of the front hornwork of the Fort, about 1665, from Raven-Hart (1971a:89).**

Further deterioration of the Fort was due to rain and snow in August 1663. In September 1663 Commissioner Overtwater advised that the most urgent matters, such as the hospital, be executed first. It's walls were to be built fairly widely of stone, possibly to become part of the wall of the Fort. Plans of the front hornwork were drawn up (Fig. 5) and work on the foundations was started, but only completed after repairs to the curtain walls on either side of the entrance. The decision to replace the Fort with a stone structure was aimed at reducing the high cost of frequent repairs. [24]

The dilapidated condition of the Fort became life-threatening and in February 1665 the sentry box on top of the "kat" was blown to the ground by the south-easterly wind. In spite of this, the hospital was completed by September 1664, except for the roof. Three thousand square Chinese floor tiles were requested from Batavia for the hospital floor since the locally produced bricks were too brittle. [25]

With imminent war between the Low Countries and England in 1664, Batavia was informed of the total inadequacy of the Fort to ward off an enemy attack. The front hornwork was still incomplete and the Fort lacked provisions. The greatest defect of the Fort could not be remedied, namely, that "dese swacke fortresse off bouwvallige schans rontom van't geberchte in dese valeij liggende can beschooten werden". This weak fortress or dilapidated shelter could be fired upon from the mountains surrounding the Table Valley. In April 1665 the instruction to replace the old clay Fort de Goede Hoop with a stone castle, was received. When the war ended in 1667, work on the new Castle was temporarily halted. The focus of activities was therefore still around the Fort. With upheavals again in Europe in the 1670s, instructions were forwarded to complete the new fortification as soon as possible. [26]

In July 1671 a heavy downpour caused the clay walls to collapse. Two sentry boxes on the Kat caved in on the following day and the entrance, which threatened to do the same, was reinforced with supports. Until March 1673 the workforce was occupied with replacing the collapsed northern walls with stamped walls, in spite of the fact that the Fort would be replaced. Continued illnesses and the south-easterly winds caused much delay in the work. In May 1673 the moat was cleaned, the palisade around the berm was renewed and the walls were raised to the correct height. These efforts were wasted when in June 1673 the walls again collapsed. By the end of 1673 the Fort was no longer required and a resolution was passed to demolish its walls without delay. By 19 May 1674 the walls of the old Fort were broken down to the foundations. The old stores were still to remain until the new ones were built. [27]

The remains of the Fort were eventually levelled to the ground. During its existence it was

subjected to the ravages of the elements but never to the onslaught of an enemy attack. The Fort, having been the first defensive structure, dominated the scene but when it fell into disuse, after the garrison had been moved to the Castle in 1674, the Castle which still stands today became the central feature from which the VOC ruled.

Excavation details

The location of the excavations was determined by two factors. First, the south-western bastion of the Fort de Goede Hoop had been identified in trenches dug in 1983 by the City Council for footings for stalls on the western side of the Grand Parade (Argus 1983a; Burger 1983a; 1983b; 1987; Cape Times 1983a; 1983b; Rapport 1983) (Blocks A-G). The bastion point was outlined on the outer edges with deposits of distinctive yellow clay which marked the beginning of the moat around it. Second, historical map overlays had placed the bastion point within approximately 10 m of the position in the trenches.

The localities of areas excavated between 1983 and 1991 are illustrated (Fig. 6). The 1983 test-trenches (4 x 1 m each) were dug in an unobtrusive location on the Parade in the vicinity of the north-east bastion of the Fort (Abrahams 1983b). This was done in order to determine the nature of the deposits beforehand, to make identification of the features easier during the Council excavations, especially since the Fort was built mostly of sods and other available natural resources which could easily be missed in the trenches.

The Council operations involved the digging of trenches of approximately one metre wide by two metres deep for the footings of the new stalls referred to on the plans as Blocks A to G. These diggings were monitored and the artefacts were salvaged. Photographs, section drawings and records were kept. The artefacts were recorded according to the blocks in which they occurred. The outline of the south-west bastion was exposed and identified through archaeological interpretation.

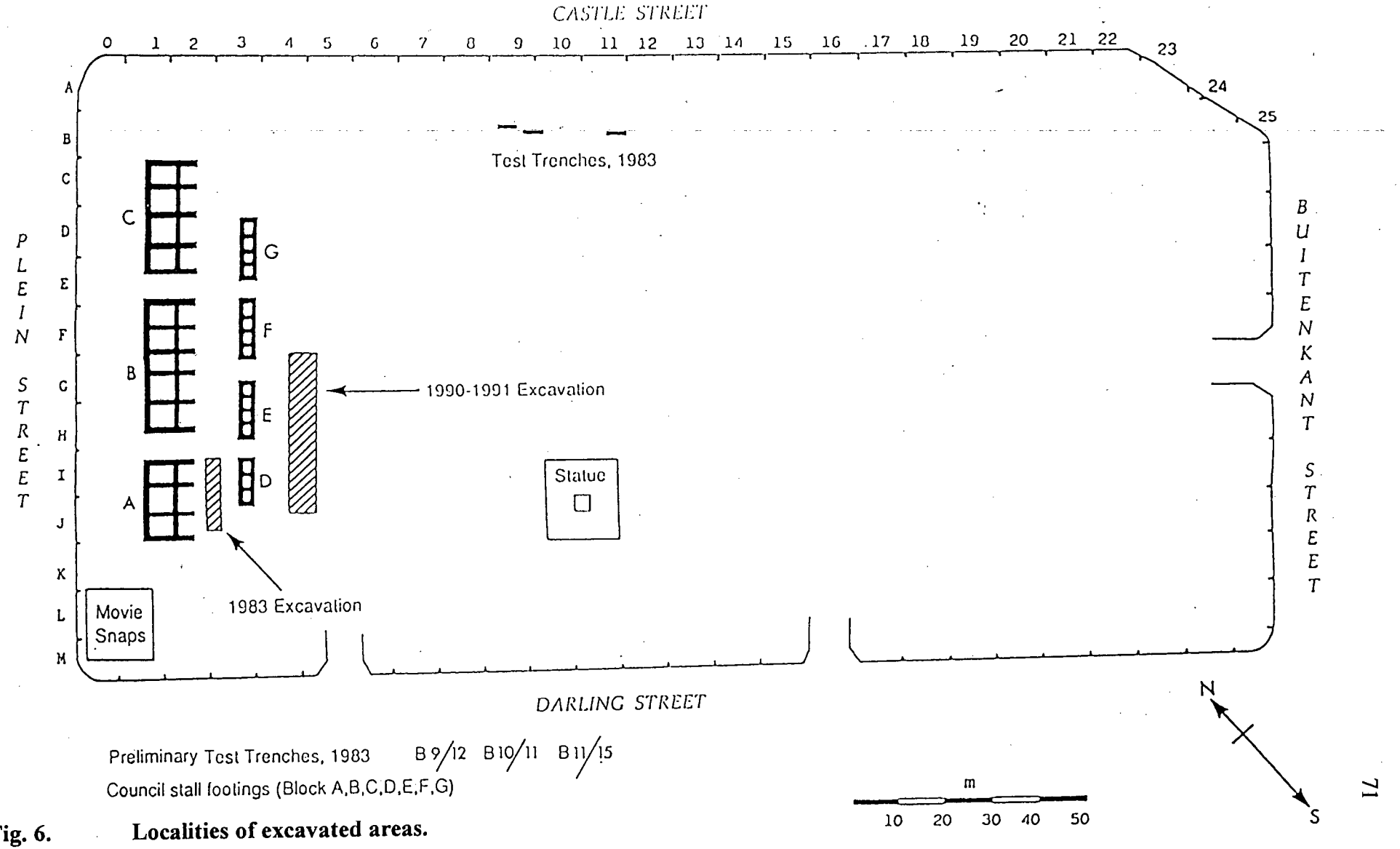


Fig. 6. **Localities of excavated areas.**

Permission was sought from the Council to execute an archaeological excavation within the perimeters of the Council diggings. A (2 x 15 m) trench was positioned across the rear section of the bastion also to encompass a detailed cutting across the berm, the inner moat edge and the outer embankment of the moat.

The more recent excavations were started on 5 December 1990 and completed by February 1991 (Abrahams 1989; 1990b; 1990c; 1991a; 1992a). A (2 x 30 m) trench was excavated to obtain samples, artefacts and evidence of features from the internal courtyard area, a section of the dwelling-house facing the sea, a section of the rear curtain wall and part of the surrounding moat (Argus 1991 a,b,c; Atlantic Sun 1990 a,b; Burger 1990; 1991 a,b,c; Cape Times 1991; Historical Society 1991). It was hoped that this cutting would produce material and information needed to satisfy our research goals (Fig. 6; 7).

The Grand Parade is a prime site in the central business district. The City Council generously gave up sections of the site during excavations. The bi-weekly stalls and parking bays were temporarily relocated and the loss of revenue was accommodated in their budget. Special permission was arranged through a number of different committees and meetings in the Council. Since the site lies under tarmac, arrangements were made for the mechanical stripping and disposal of the tarmac. The tarmac cover was removed over an area of 6 metres by 32 metres after the site was completely fenced off. This large exposed area provided a great deal of flexibility in following up features revealed from day to day. The excavation area was increased around the moat, across the bastion, around the walls of the rooms uncovered and inside the room where a burial was located.

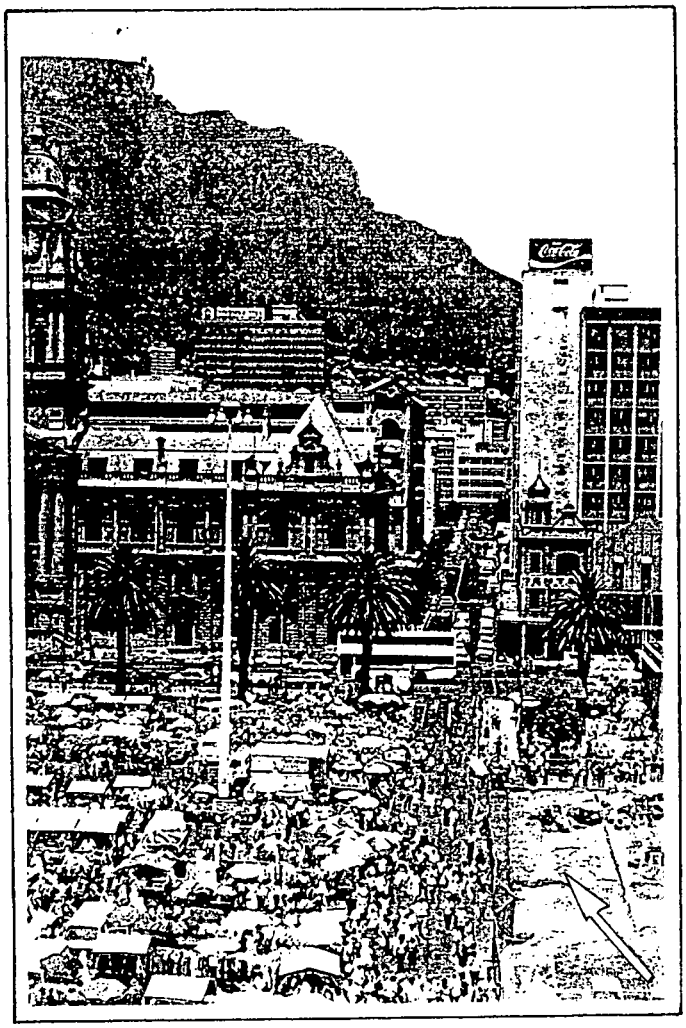


Fig. 7. **Site of the 1990-1991 excavation photographed from the roof of the Golden Acre.**

From the previous excavations we knew that it would be possible to continue mechanical stripping or to make use of pick-axes for removing the layers directly below the tarmac consisting of gravel (about 2,5 cm deposit) and a sterile layer of hardcore (about 1,5 cm deposit). The underlaying layers were trowelled by hand, sieved and sorted on site. In certain areas wet sieving was undertaken. Sieves of 5x5 mm and 17x17 mm were used throughout the archaeological excavations and a two metre grid system was used. The excavations were documented through accurate ground plans, section drawings, black and white photographs, colour photographs and slides.

The 1990-1991 excavations were recorded on video and finds lists were drawn up on a daily basis. The excavation crew was drawn from the local universities, high schools, local volunteers as well as overseas members of Earthwatch.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Stratigraphy and features

1983 Trenches: The test - pits B9/12, B10/11, B11/15 revealed the stratification depicted in fig 8, fig. 9 and fig. 10 respectively. They provided a necessary guide to the larger excavations. They were, however, too small to identify parts of a structure as large as the Fort. The common base to the last two test-pits consisted of decomposing bedrock (yellow-grey clay). This was overlain by cultural levels consisting of firstly a deposit of discoloured beach sand, brown, grey and yellow in places. Black clay with various inclusions such as beige flecks and a few roots was the next common deposit for all three test-pits. In B11 this deposit appeared more like black sand.

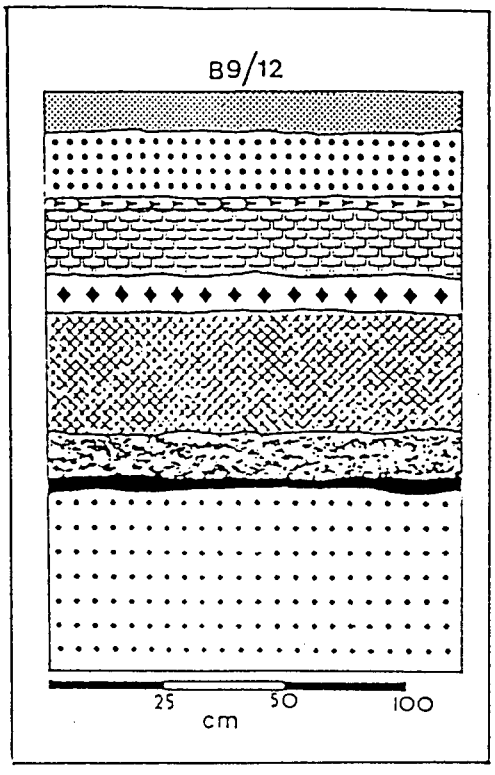


Fig. 8. **Section of B9/12, south wall.**

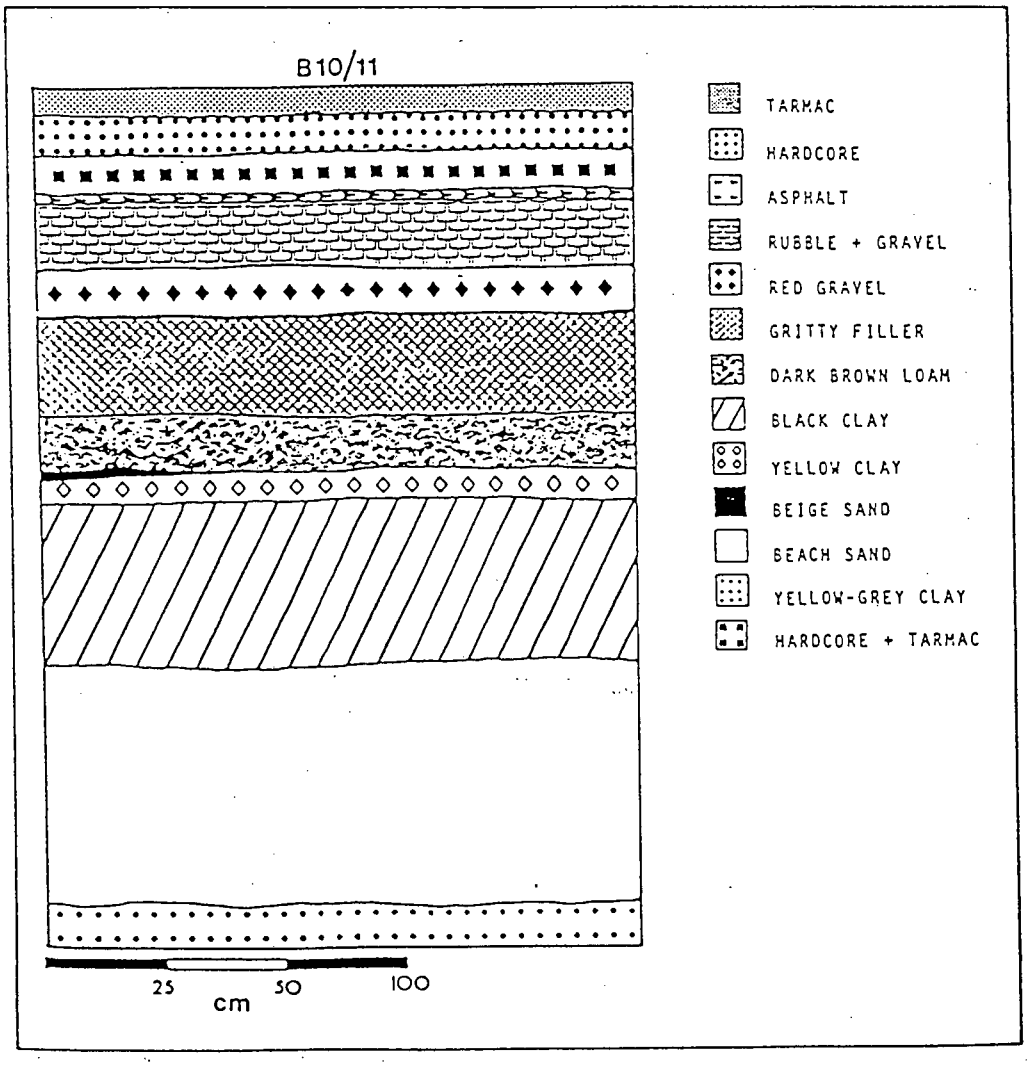


Fig. 9. **Section of B10/11, south wall.**

The next deposit was variable throughout the pits. In the first pit B9/12 it consisted of a thin layer of beige sand. In the next pit B10/11 this film of beige sand tapered out on top of shale cobbles packed in yellow clay. Fragments of brick and mortar were also found in this yellow clay. In the third pit the following common layer which appears consistently throughout all the pits, namely, a layer of dark brown loam, appeared. Above this, the following common layers were gritty filler, red gravel, rubble and gravel, asphalt, hardcore and tarmac. The asphalt layer was not present in the third pit B11/15.

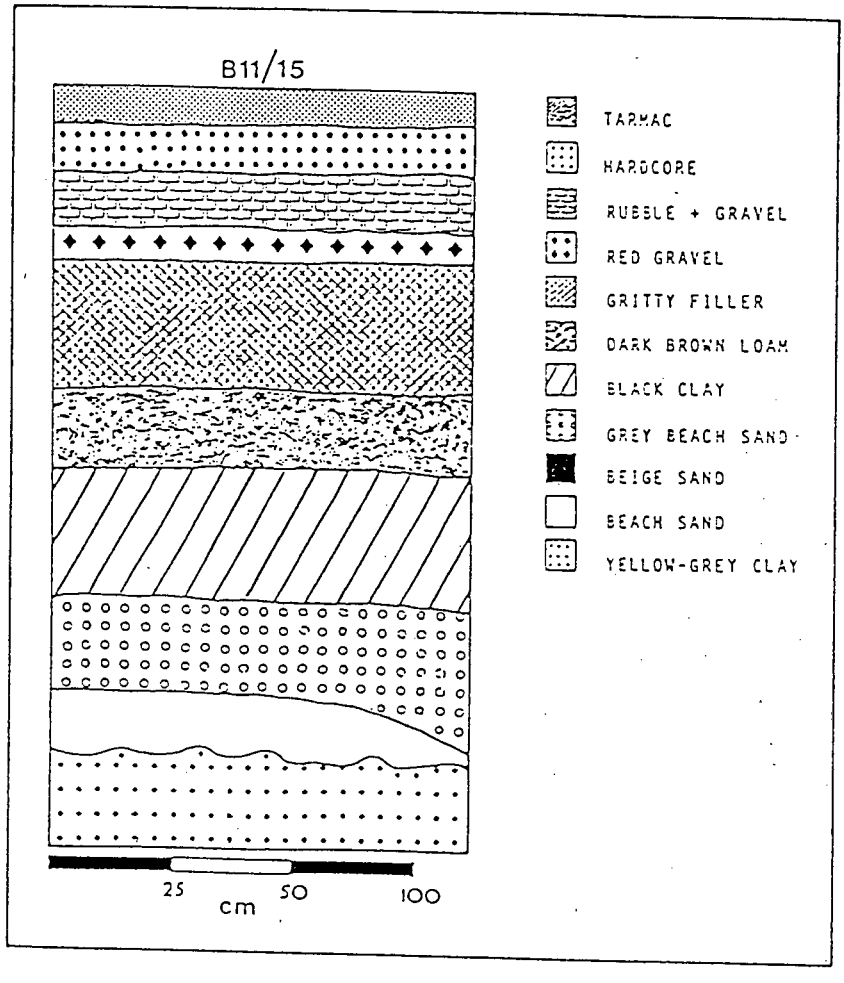


Fig. 10. **Section of B11/15, south wall.**

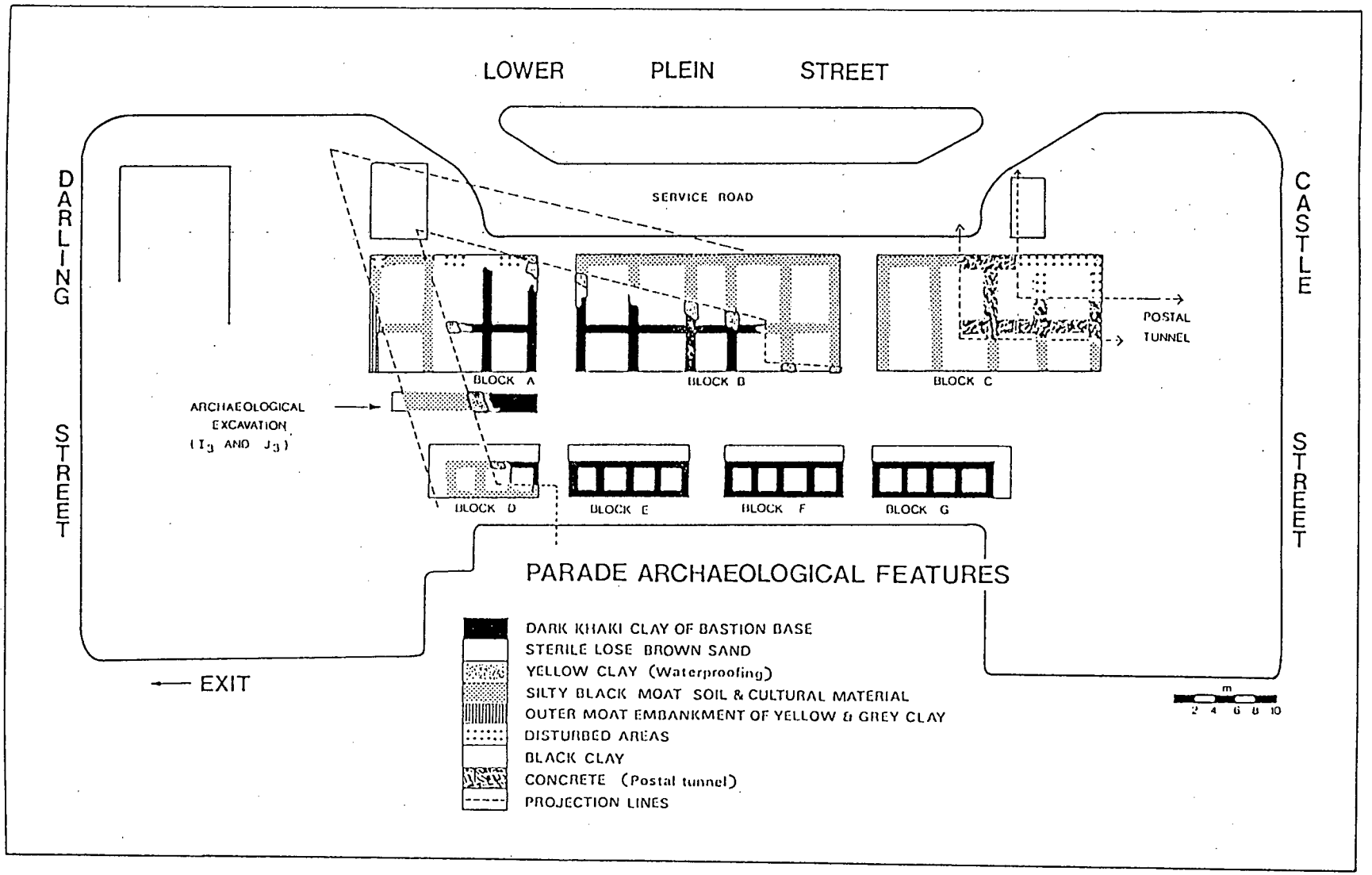


Fig. 11. **Excavation details of the Oliphant bastion, the surrounding moat and outer embankment, 1983 excavations.**

The spatial extent of the Council trenches and the archaeological trench provided an overall view of an area of approximately 30 metres by 80 metres. The overall picture revealed in these trenches is illustrated in figure 11. The south-west bastion point is clearly visible when projection lines are drawn in to join up the stratigraphic features revealed within the trenches. A deposit of sterile, hard, dark khaki clay formed the foundation of the bastion. All along the edges of the bastion point, a loose brown sterile deposit of sand was located. Beyond this was the beginning of the moat which had been lined with sterile yellow clay.

Silty black sand with most of the cultural material filled the moat which was approximately 6,5 metres wide in most places. The outer embankment was clearly differentiated in yellow and grey clay as illustrated in Block A and in J3 (Fig. 11). A clear section of the embankment and the moat alongside the bastion base was obtained in squares I3 and J3 (Fig. 12).

The deposits consisted of sterile black soil at the bottom of the moat overlain by a lens of more silty black sand which contained a dense concentration of artefacts. A layer of fine brown soil without artefacts stretched across the entire trench, tapering to a thin lens of between two and three centimeters on the bastion foundation. As in the test-pits, gritty infill with cultural material and rubble with a tarmac surface overlay the next deposits. However, sandwiched in between them were sterile layers of coarse brown soil, brown sand with black and grey flecks and grey clay with stones. The deepest point of the moat was two metres below the tarmac surface. The depth of the moat from the top of the outer embankment was only 1,4 metres. The width of the moat, measured at right angles to the outer embankment wall in J3 (Fig. 11) was approximately 6,3 metres.

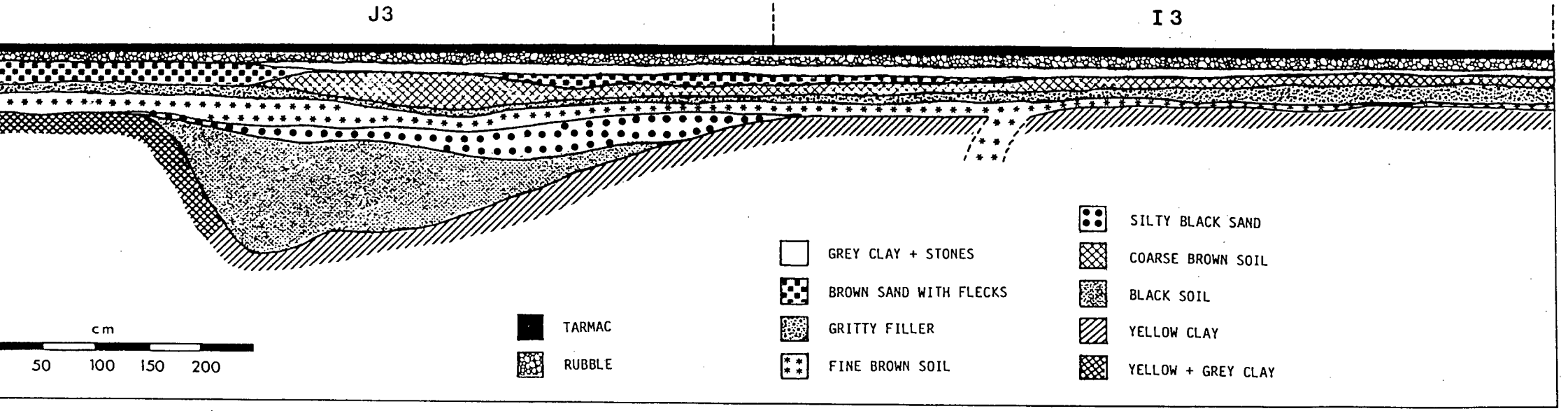


Fig. 12. **West wall, section of I3 and J3 showing the outer embankment, yellow clay-lined moat and foundation of the Oliphant bastion.**

1990-1991 Trenches: The 1990-1991 excavation exposed the outer embankment of the moat, indications of two different building lines of the inner embankment, one of the corners of the bastion point, the rear line of the Fort, the first back wall against the rear curtain and remains of a human burial in one of the rooms at the back of the Fort (Fig. 13; 14a; 14b; 14c). When they are all viewed at the same scale, these features fit most closely with those indicated on the archival plans/maps showing the Fort of 1656 (Fig. 14a) and 1665 (Fig. 2a) and least of all with a plan of 1653 (Fig. 14c). On the two plans of 1656 and 1665 the position of the outer embankment correlates exactly with the archaeological findings as does the corner of the bastion between the rear curtain and kraal. This corner, however, was not square, as indicated on all the plans, but at an angle of approximately 450. The rear wall of the buildings at the back of the Fort is exactly in line with those on the maps of 1656 and 1665 except that it forms a step, as seen in the excavations. This step occurs in the position of a passage on the plan of 1665. The inner embankment of the moat corresponds closely with the outer lines of the bastion point on the 1656 and 1665 maps. The back building line of the Fort correlates only with that on the 1665 map. The burial, according to all three maps, occurred in the 2nd last room from the Oliphant bastion corner.

A 30 metre section was excavated during the 1990-1991 excavation. The east section from B5 to H5 (Fig. 15a;15b;15c;15d;15e) shows a common yellow clay inner bank up to the outer embankment of sterile black clay. Where the two meet a silty sand deposit with chips of charcoal and decomposing twigs appears. The yellow clay inner bank was mixed with rubble inclusions around D5 forming what appears to be another earlier embankment. In C5 it appears to be mixed with an equal proportion of darker clay.

In the deepest section of the moat a small deposit of silty black sand with building rubble, including bricks, mottled clay, wood and stones was found. The yellow clay embankment was overlain with brown sand which contained flecks of yellow clay mainly in C5. In F5 and E5 it formed a distinct three metre wide platform when mixed with a conglomerate of building material which originally appears to have ended on top of the rubble embankment at the intersection of E5 and D5. It may have been extended further back across another two metres

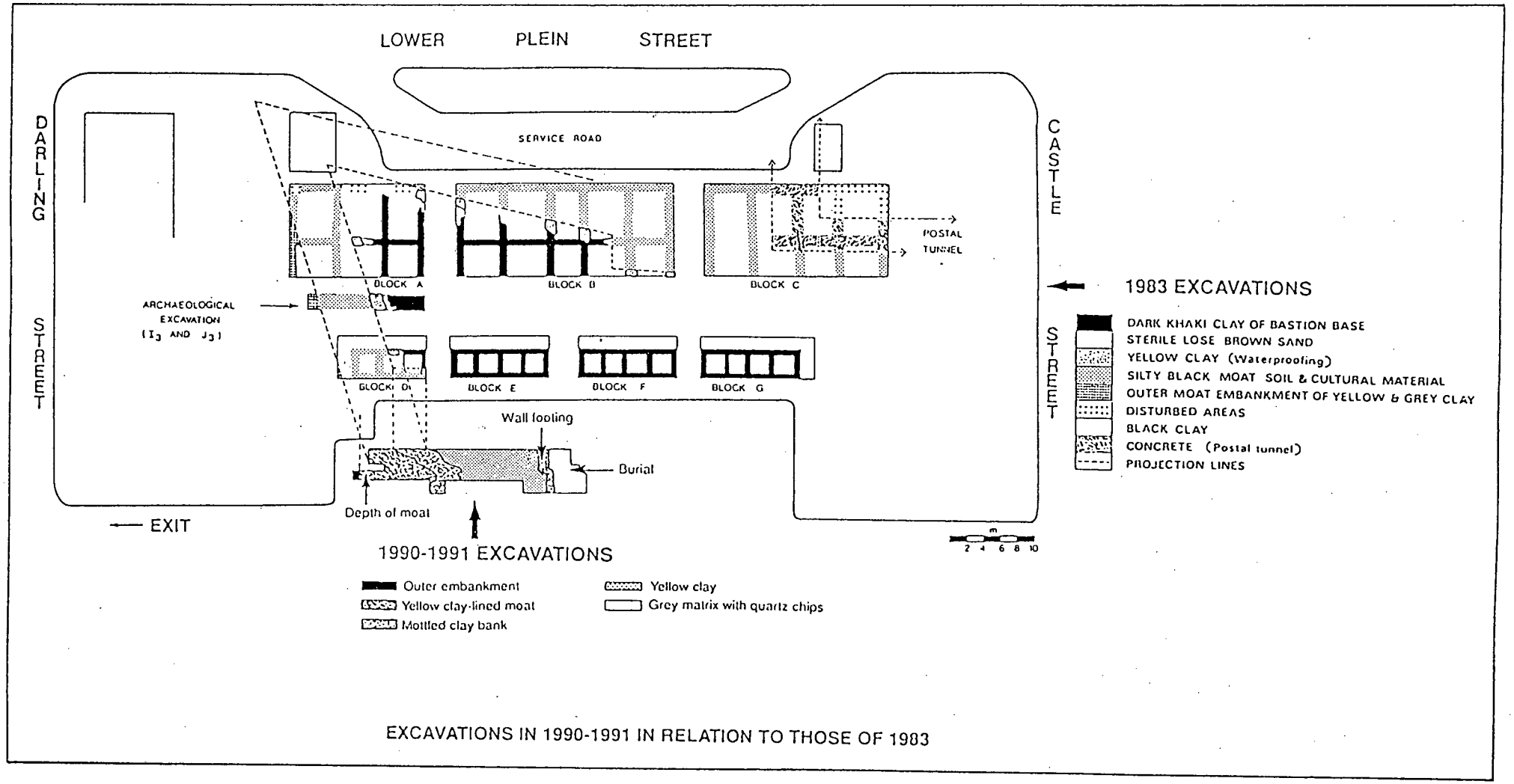


Fig. 13. **Excavation details of the outer embankment, the moat, rear section of the Oliphant bastion and rear wall of rooms at the back of the Fort, 1990-1991 excavations.**

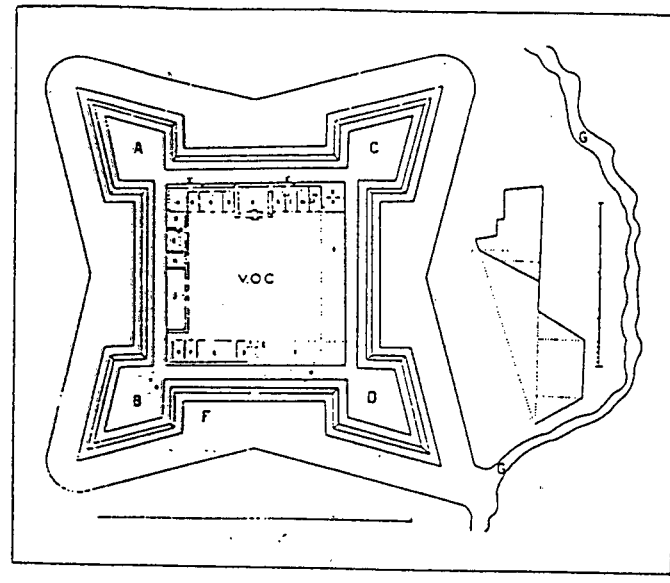


Fig. 14a. Plan of the Fort 1653, State Archives, The Hague, Chart 814.

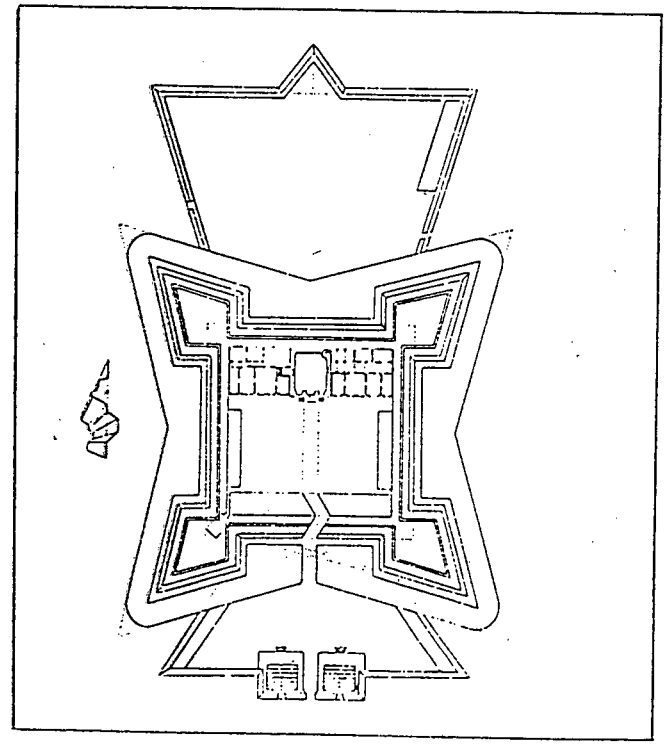


Fig. 14b. Plan of the Fort 1656, Cape Archives, M1/23.

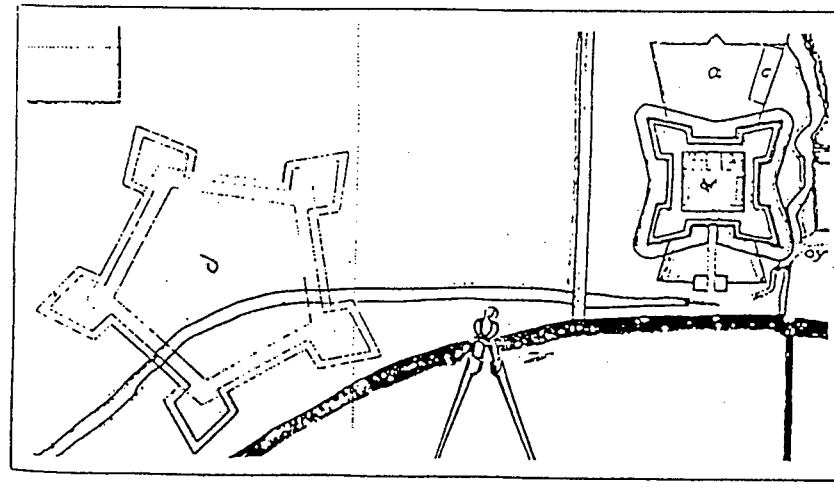


Fig. 14c. Plan of the Fort 1665, Cape Archives, M3/10.

with a rubble topping to yet another clay embankment in C5 and B5. In the brown sand which overlays this yellow clay deposit, a scattering of stones was found. This brown sand is undercut by a deposit of much softer brown soil in the area of the outer embankment. The whole section was covered by alternating layers of fine brown sand and a slightly more orange deposit. Brick fragments were sometimes found in this orange/brown deposit. A layer of dark brown loam was excavated on top of the orange/brown deposit. In H5 it contained a lens of orange/brown sand with fine bone and brick inclusions. A deposit of gritty brown/orange sand with cultural material was found throughout except in G5 and H5 where a layer of mottled clay was located. The following deposits were mainly red gravel and cobbles in rubble and hardcore overlain by tarmac.

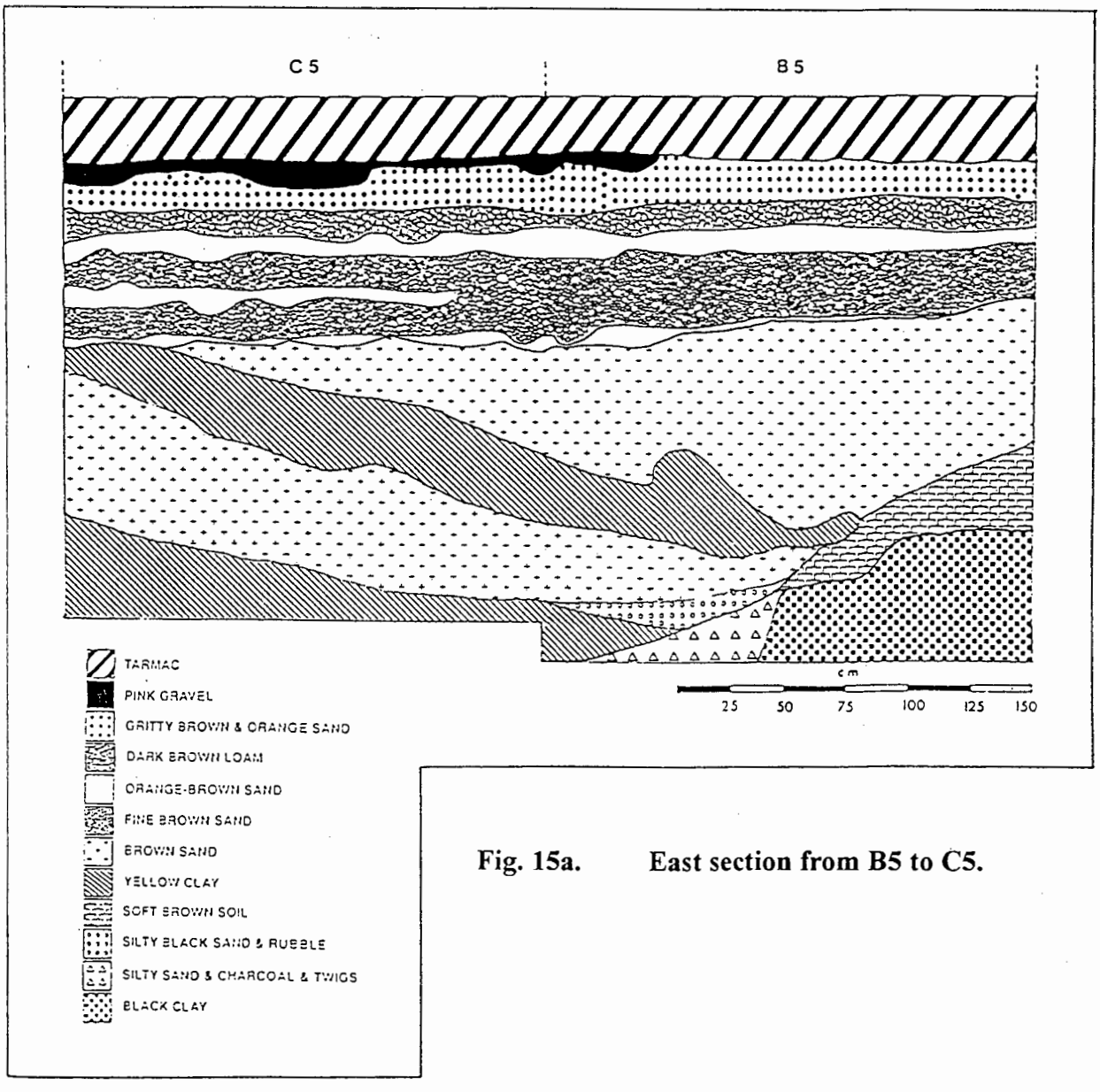


Fig. 15a. East section from B5 to C5.

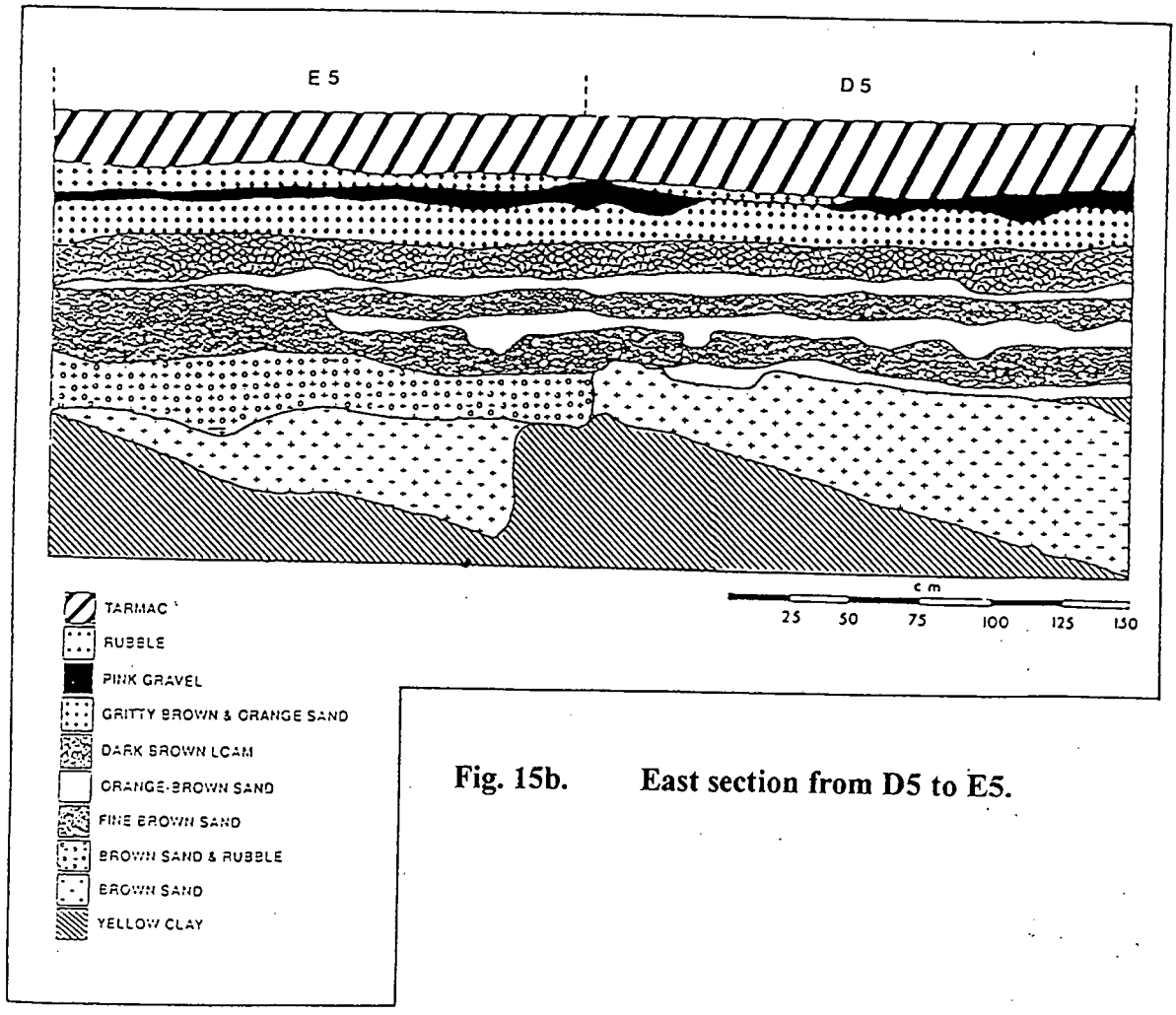


Fig. 15b. **East section from D5 to E5.**

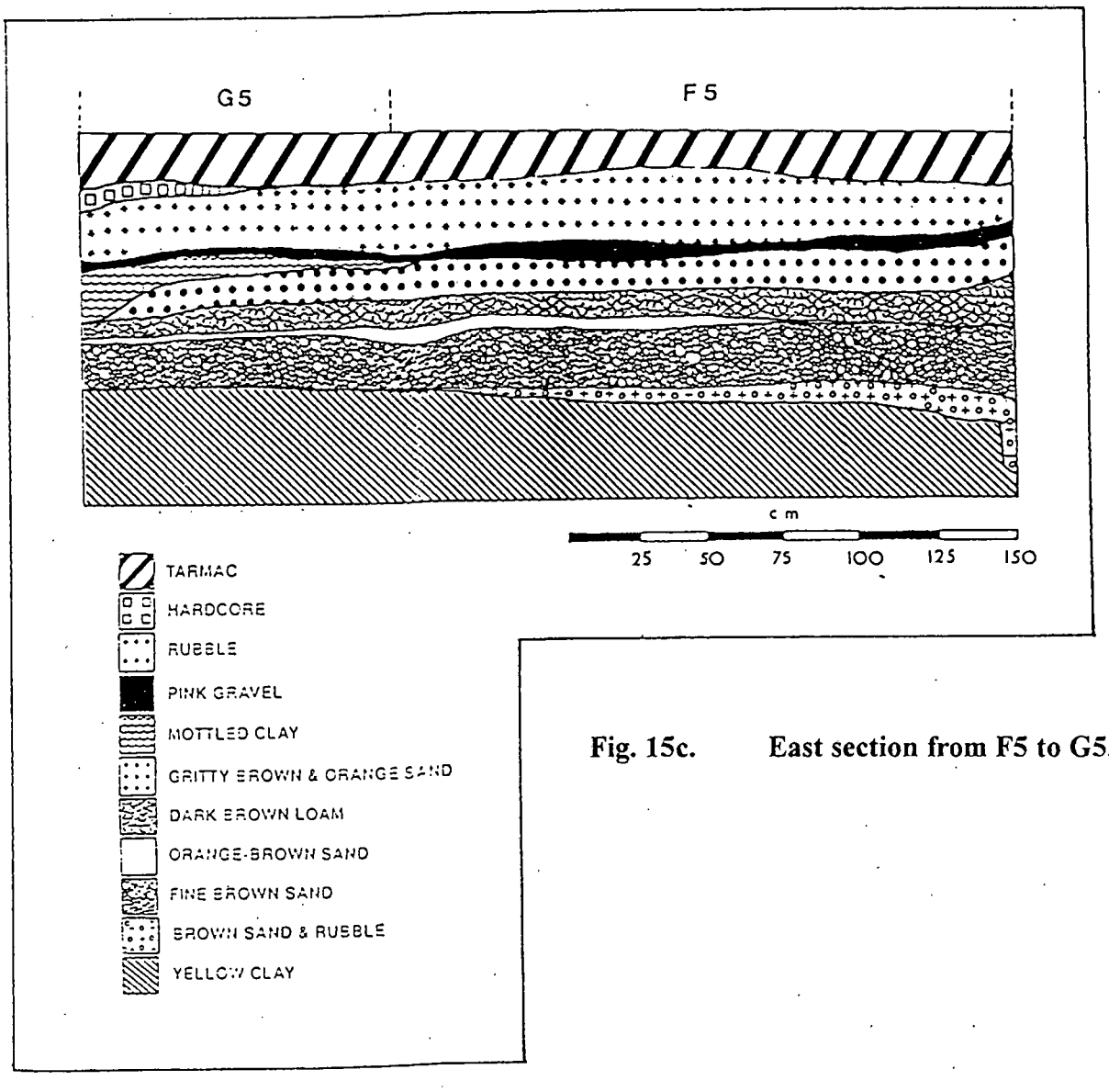


Fig. 15c. East section from F5 to G5.

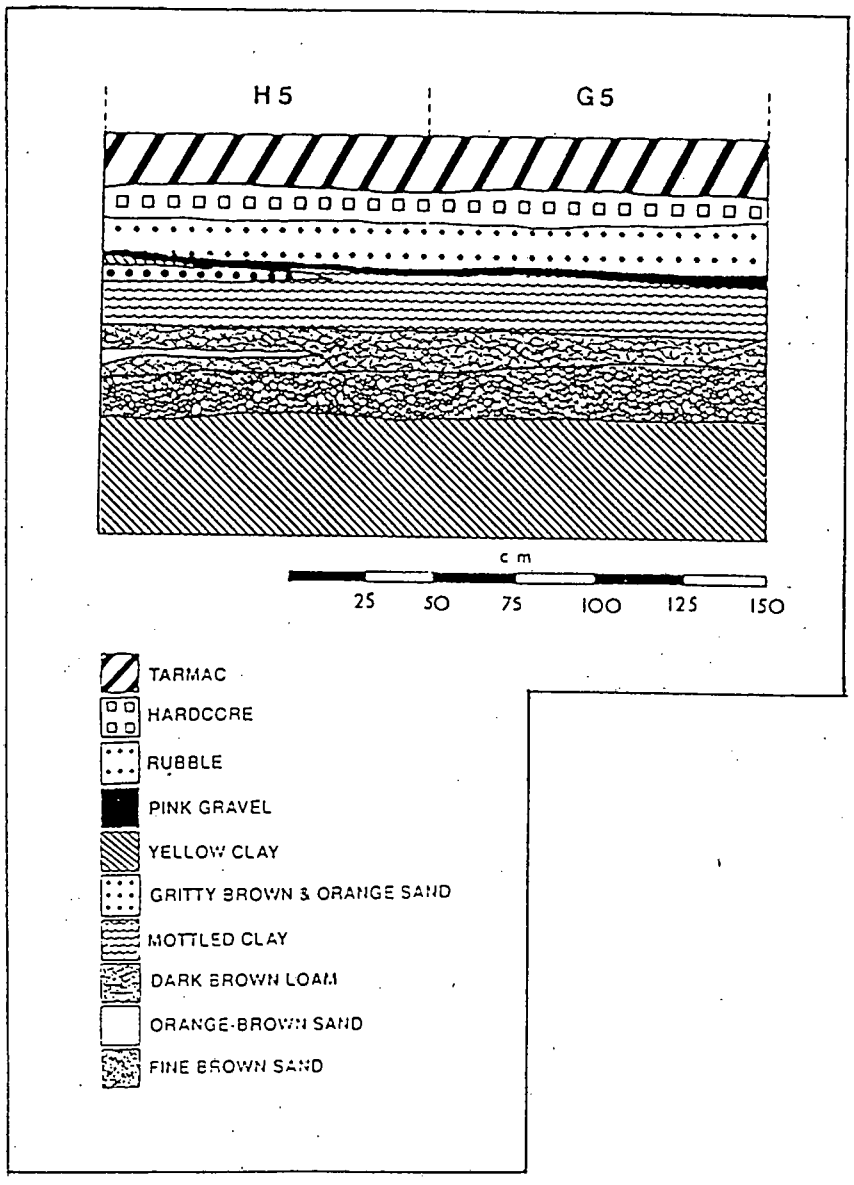


Fig. 15d. East Section from G5 to H5.

The sections on the opposite end of this 30 metre trench, between H5 and P5 (Fig. 16), appear to be similar to those between H5 and B5. However, additional layers of red gravel and tar were located. Remains of a wall footing in N5 were cemented together by yellow clay under which a layer of grey clay was located. Below the next common layer of dark brown loam, the stratigraphy changed completely to grey sand on black clay which could be sections of the natural deposits.

The test-pit in P5 inside the Fort (Fig. 17) repeated the sequence of deposits as described above. Excavated to a depth of approximately 3,2 metres, however, the sterile black clay deposit continued down for about a metre followed by alternating layers of white and stained black gritty beach-like sand which could be natural deposits. The lowest level of excavated black sand was waterlogged.

In D4, the test-pit outside the Fort (Fig. 18) on the embankment of the moat, the deposits varied completely from those of P5 inside the Fort. Only two common deposits were found, that is, the last tarmac layer and the deposit of pink gravel. The two most distinct layers were the yellow clay in the moat in D4 and the black clay inside the Fort in P5, both of which were probably surfaces deliberately laid down.

The archaeological information from the site tells us that the artefacts excavated were mostly found in secondary context, as part of a fill possibly from the surrounding areas. This fill appears to have been used as dumping material to level off the Parade.

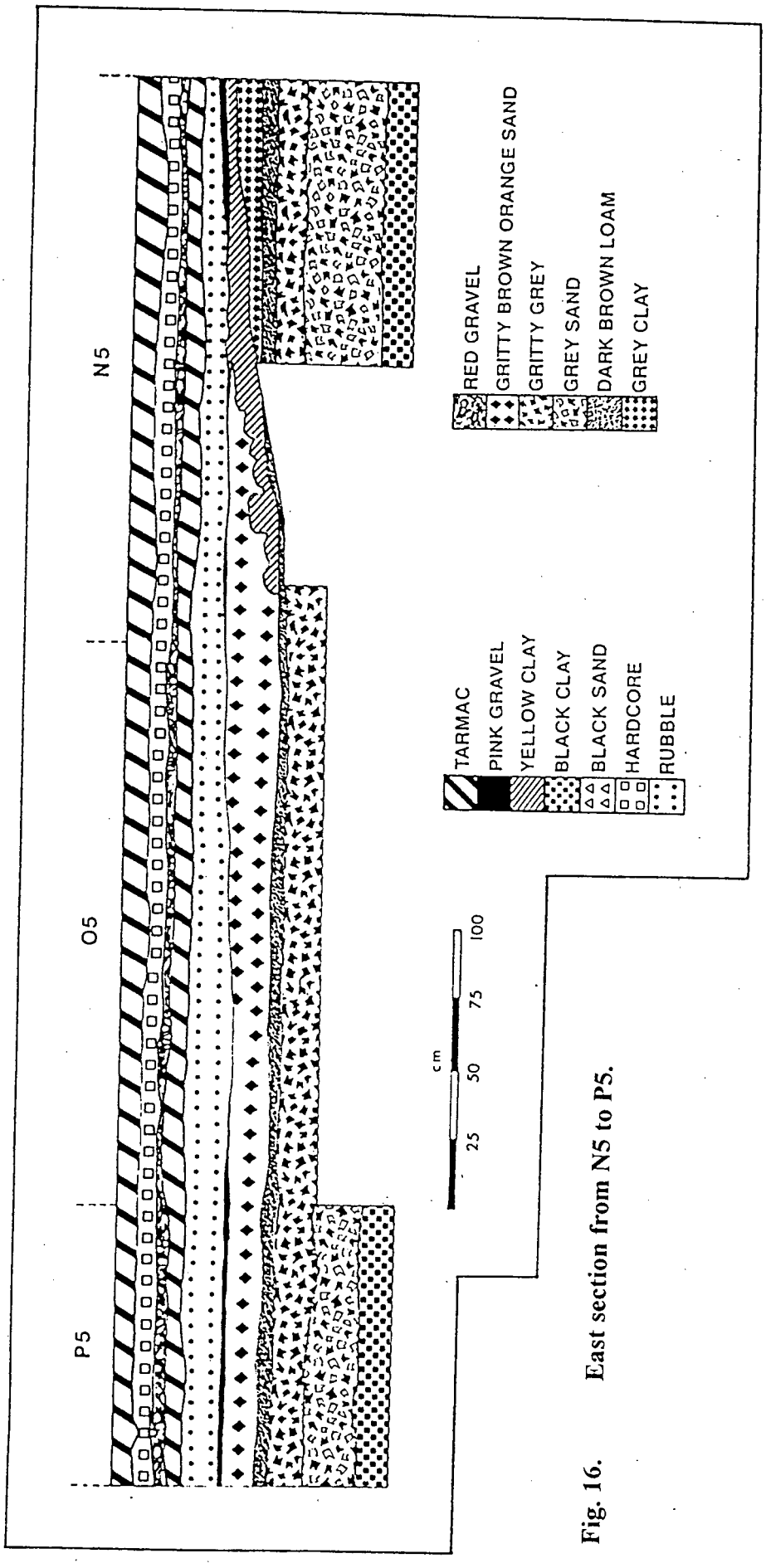


Fig. 16. East section from N5 to P5.

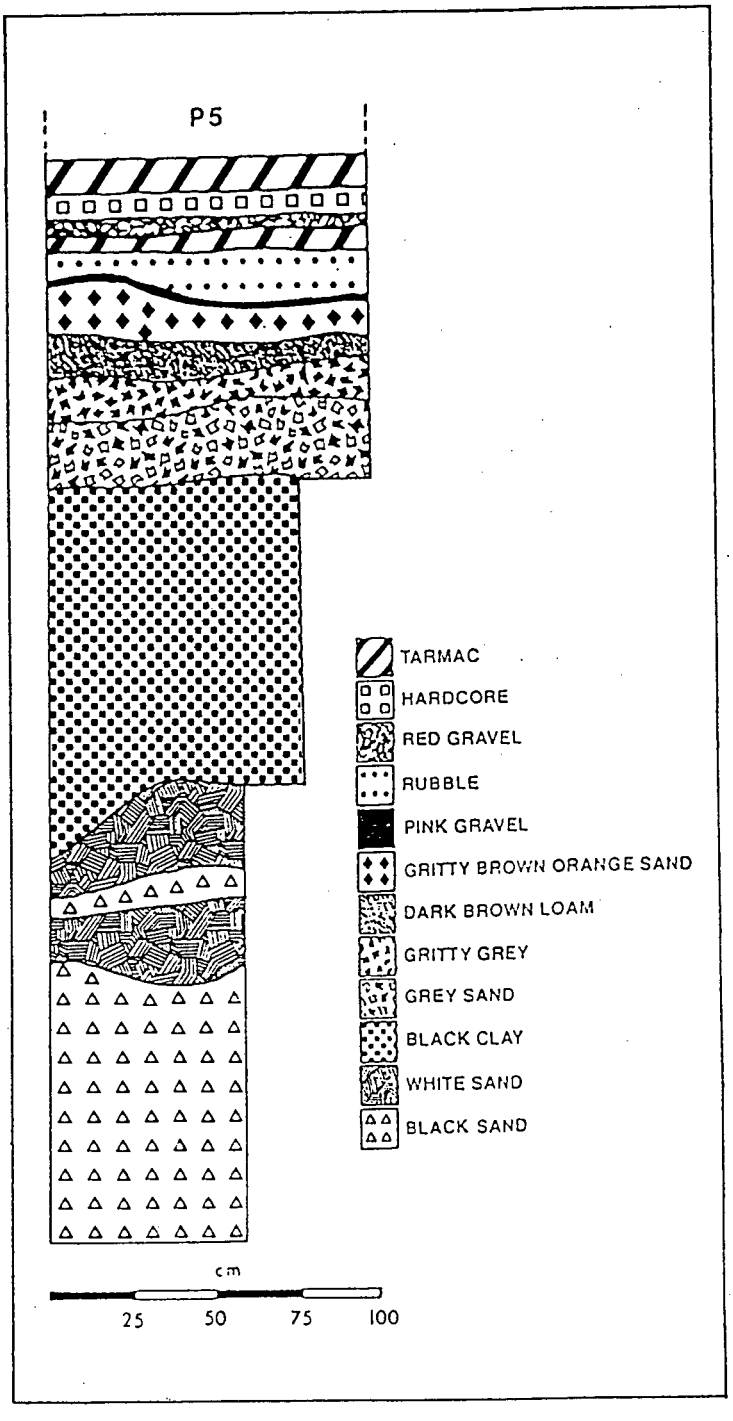


Fig. 17. **North section of test-pit P5 inside the Fort.**

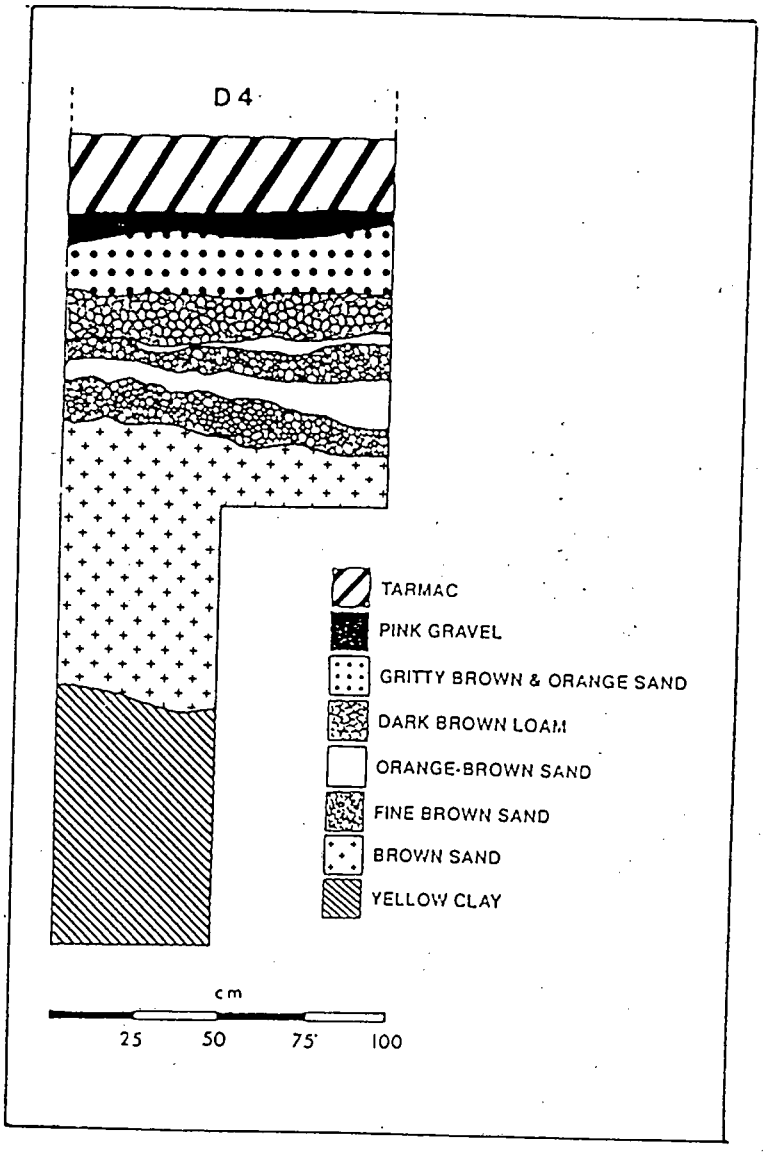


Fig. 18. East Section of test-pit D4 on the embankment of the moat.

Associated finds

The chief goal in this dissertation is to study the ceramics from this site, consequently, only an overview of other remains, is given here.

Clay tobacco pipes:

The clay tobacco pipes have been studied and it was found that most of them were Dutch, made in Gouda (Abrahams 1984a). From a total of 1711 fragments, 121 specimens were dated from the makers' marks and the form of the specimens (Potgieter and Abrahams 1984: 42-53). Two chronological peaks were found. The dated specimens fall mainly between 1730 and 1740 with the next cluster between 1760 and 1770. A decline in the clay pipe sample occurs towards the 1790s, corresponding with the decline of the Dutch seaborne empire and liquidation of the Dutch East India Company.

Picture marks on the heels of the clay pipes were found to predominante over others such as numeral and letter marks. This could be due to export factors, or as a result of preference, possibly related to nostalgic memories of life back in Holland. The pipes ranged mostly between fine and ordinary quality. These included those with side marks, makers' marks on the heels, decorated stems, polished/glazed pieces and those with incised milling around the opening of the bowl.

Glass bottles:

From a sample of 166 dated specimens, the glass bottles were found to be mostly (59%) Continental European in origin (Abrahams 1987). British specimens were represented by 25% of the sample. The origin of 16% of the sample could not be determined with certainty. 65% of the 166 dated specimens were made between 1720 and 1760, suggesting later dumping in the area of the Fort. These were mostly onion, cylindrical, mallet and Constantia bottles. A second peak of around 26% of the total was of bottles ranging between 1670 and 1700. These were mostly case bottles, shaft and globe and onion bottles.

In general, the more common forms, namely square, onion, mallet and cylindrical bottles, were prominent. The more unusual bottle forms, such as the French flowerpot, the bladder onion and octagonal bottles, were represented by only single specimens. Bottles with seals incorporating symbols of rank, position and wealth were conspicuously absent. The collection therefore points to artefacts of everyday use. The occurrence of a high percentage (12%) of what are most likely Constantia wine bottles (with peculiar, long, spindle necks, made especially for the Cape wine estate at Constantia), has a particular Cape significance.

Coins:

Three coins were excavated, all of which were Dutch copper doits dated 1756, 1734 and one dated between 1729 and 1794, all post-dating the 17th century occupation of the Fort.

Other artefacts:

Indigenous artefacts include one bored stone, a hammerstone, Late Stone Age tools, Khoi pottery and fragments of ostrich eggshell. Other finds, also dating within the 17th and 18th centuries, included glass beads, drinking glasses, panes, money cowries, costume accessories such as buttons, cufflinks and a bauble, gunflints, marbles, building materials and metals. The metals are mostly corroded conglomerates of iron but also include copper and lead fragments.

Food remains:

Shells and bones of edible and non-edible species were found. A large, relatively well-preserved sample of faunal remains was excavated, represented mostly by sheep and cattle. In terms of morphology and size, the domestic sheep remains were found to be significantly larger than any of the prehistoric sheep remains (Cruz-Uribe and Schrire 1991: 92-106). There is an absence of young sheep suggesting a culling strategy which gave rise to a diet of tougher older mutton. Other faunal remains include those of small antelope and other mammals, fowl, fish and bird bones (G. Avery pers comm).

Human remains:

The position of the burial, when related to all three maps (Fig. 14a; 14b; 14c), was in the

second-last room from the Oliphant bastion corner (Abrahams-Willis and Fourshe 1995). It was excavated from a very distinctive deposit consisting of grey sand mixed with quartz grit creating a durable matrix, apparently reserved for inside the courtyard of the Fort only. The burial intrudes into this deposit which was possibly laid down as the courtyard ground surface. No artefacts were contained in this deposit which is sealed by the overlying layers containing both 17th and 18th century material.

Mehodology for ceramic descriptions

The ceramic assemblage is by far the biggest category of artefacts. The ceramics include stoneware, fine porcelain, coarse porcelain, coarse earthenware, refined white earthenware and tin-glazed earthenware. Although the building materials include roof tiles and floor tiles certain of which were probably manufactured in local kilns, these have not been included and will form part of another study.

In the first instance the ceramics were described under the categories of porcelain (Table I.1), coarse earthenware (Table 2.1) stoneware (Table 3.1) and other white/cream earthenware (Table 4.1). Secondly, they were sub-divided under origin, namely, Oriental, European or local. Wherever possible, more detailed place names such as Dehua, Swatow, Langerwehe etc. are indicated. However, techniques and styles were often plagiarized and there was a great deal of movement amongst potters and centres of ceramic production. Until more research along these lines is executed, specific attributions should be treated with caution. These have been included, sometimes at the end of a description of a particular piece, but in brackets with a question mark. In other places it was suggested by David Gaimster (pers comm) to refer to, for example, Westerwald-type and Frechen-type, since the provenance of the excavated stoneware has not yet been confirmed with absolute certainty.

The following sub-categories describe the decorative techniques or body types, whichever are usually most visible for categorization eg. redware, yellow lead glazed, tin-glazed, pearlware, Imari etc. The following part of the descriptions of these sub-categories define the form, and

wherever indicated, the function of the vessel eg. pot, for serving/cooking. Sometimes the forms are ambiguous and these have therefore been indicated with a stroke between them eg. pot/basin or bowl/dish, vase/pot/jar. This is also often the case where only one or more fragments represent the entire vessel. Other features of note are then described for each specimen or specimen groups.

The above all form part of the first column on the four tables describing the ceramics. The references (Ref.) indicate where or from whom the identification details have been obtained. These may vary from personal communication with specialists in the field of ceramics to published material, in which case the page numbers are quoted in the following column (Page). Further publication details may be gleaned from the reference list but the following is a list of abbreviations used in the column of references:

ABBREVIATION	REFERENCE DESCRIPTION
A	Mr Michael Archer (Head Dept. of Ceramics), Victoria & Albert Museum, London: personal communication 1989.
AV	Dr Graham Avery (Head Dept. of Archaeology) South African Museum, Cape Town : personal communication 1987.
C	Lady Georgina Crawford (Ex-curator Ethnography) Horniman Museum, London : personal communication 1991.
CD	Comparative dating with dated glass and clay tobacco pipe assemblages.
CH1	Christie's Catalogue 1989.
CH2	Christie's Catalogue 1977.
CH3	Christie's (Monaco) Catalogue 1987.
CH4	Christie's (London) Catalogue 1987.
D	Professor James Deetz (Dept. of Anthropology) University of California, California : personal communication 1984.
DK	J. de Kleyn 1965.
DS	Comparative samples brought to Cape Town from the U.S.A. by Prof. Deetz, 1984.
G	Dr David Gaimster (Dept. of Medieval and Later Antiquities) British Museum, London: personal communication 1986-1989.
GO	G.A. Godden 1974.
H	Dr Paul Huey (New York State Office of Parks, Recreation and Historic Preservation) Bureau of Historic Sites, New York : personal communication 1990.
J	C.J.A. Jörg 1986.
K	Ms Rosemary Kerr (Head Eastern Dept.) Victoria & Albert Museum, London : personal communication 1989.
K1	J. Kirkman 1974.
L	Le Corbeiller 1974.
N	H. Nienhaus 1987.
NH	I. Noël Hume 1985.
P	Mrs Suzanne Potgieter (Dept. of Ceramics) S.A. Cultural History Museum, Cape Town : personal communication 1984.
SN	G. Savage and H. Newman 1974.
SH	David Sanctuary Howard 1974.
SH2	David Sanctuary Howard 1991.
SK	Colin Sheaf and Richard Kilburn 1988.

VA	Victoria & Albert Museum Galleries, London: 1989.
V	Mr Hennie Vos (Archaeological Research Unit) Stellenbosch Museum, Stellenbosch : personal communication 1984; 1992.
VI	Hennie Vos 1985.
V2	Hennie Vos 1986.
VO	T. Volker 1954.
VL	J. van Loo 1984.
W	Mrs Cara Woodward : personal communication 1987.
W1	Cara Woodward 1974.
WE	L.T. Weijs 1976.
WH	Mrs Willoughby Hodgson 1912.
YM	S.T. Yeo and J. Martin 1978.

The minimum number of specimens (n) was calculated from either the rims or bases and the higher number of the two was chosen. Individual fragments which had no other counterparts based on their bodies, glazes and decoration differences were added, as well as individual near-completed specimens. The biggest group of unidentified items is among the Oriental porcelain and a rough count has been added under the category of unidentified for the porcelain group to give a clearer impression of the entire sample size.

The date range column refers to dates obtained from ceramic specialists or the published references quoted. Where dates were given as, for example 1770s, early 18th century or second half of the 17th century by the experts, I have taken the liberty to change these to 1770-1780, 1700-1725 and 1650-1700 respectively. This has been done for the convenience of graphic interpretation of the data. Where more specific, tighter date ranges were offered, these were preferentially treated. Dates of the 18th century were assumed to end around 1790, as suggested by corroborative dates of the other associated artefacts and the dated ceramic specimens. The undated specimens were thus dated by association to 1650-1790.

Certain discrepancies in the dating are inevitable due to a lack of concensus on the subject. These have sometimes been included in brackets in the first column of the descriptive tables.

Results and discussion

In the excavated ceramics, only a minor part of the assemblage could be directly related to the Fort itself. The excavated ceramics should rather be viewed in more general terms, as those used at the Cape, and not exclusively at the Fort by its occupants. The ceramics are therefore considered more generally as Cape-related artefacts in chronological type categories.

The ceramics form the bulk of the excavated artefacts. The counted number of vessels amount to 1135 (Table 1.1). Most of these are in fragmentary condition but a number of them have been reconstructed to display standards for exhibition purposes. The large majority consists of Oriental porcelain followed by locally produced earthenware, European stoneware and a minor percentage of other European earthenwares.

CERAMIC TYPES	n	%
Porcelain	836	74
Coarse earthenware	160	14
Stoneware	103	9
Other cream/white/red earthenware	36	3
TOTAL	1 135	100%

Table 1.1 **Percentages of ceramic types in the Parade sample.**

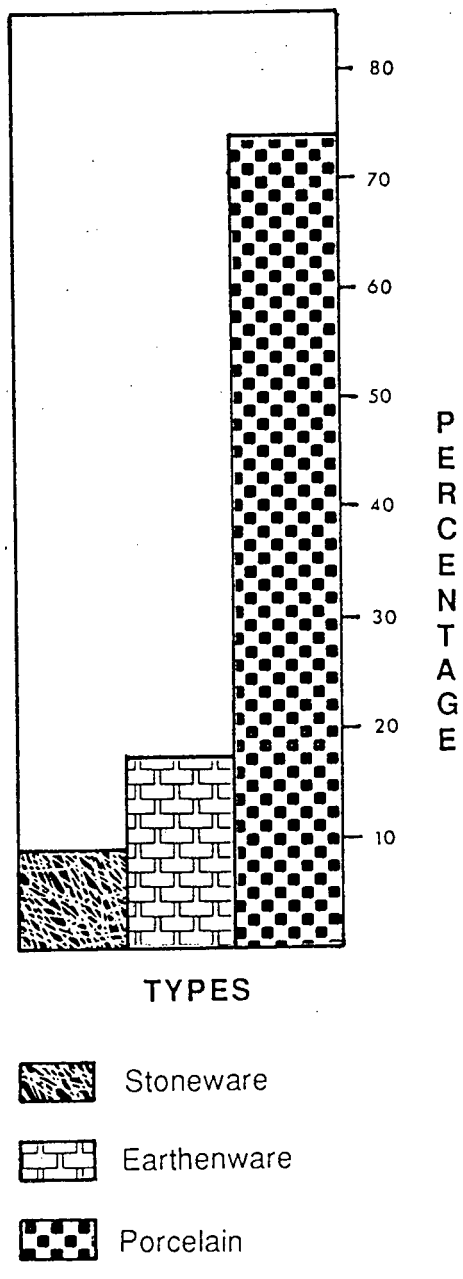


Fig. 19. **Parade sample, proportions of ceramic types represented.**

The porcelain

Porcelain is the biggest category of ceramics represented in the Parade assemblage (Fig. 19). The porcelain sample (Table 1.2) consists of underglaze blue (60%), Provincial wares (14%), entirely overglazed and Imari (9% + 4%), brown glazed wares (7%), plain white (3%), Japanese (2%), and European artefacts (1%).

The majority of underglaze blue consists of plates, bowls and saucers. The Provincial wares are mostly bowls and saucer-dish types. Bowls and saucers form the bulk of the polychromes as well as the brown glazed wares. The plain white wares are represented fairly sparsely throughout by bowls, saucers, plates and saucer-dish types. The Japanese porcelain consists mostly of large dishes and bowls as well as single specimens including a chamber pot or water pot and an Imari shaving bowl. The European specimens are represented by vases, jars and a jug.

The Parade porcelain assemblage (Table 1.3) is comprised of plates (32%), larger bowls (24%), saucers (17%), smaller bowls (14%), saucer-dish types (6%), larger dishes or platters (4%), vases (1%) and pots/tureens/jars (1%). Other items such as small pots or jars, statuettes, spittoons, chamber pots, sauce boats, stands trays, boxes and cups are represented by one to three specimens only (1% in total).

The greatest differences in quantities are noted between the underglaze blue porcelain and European porcelain. Japanese porcelain is the second lowest percentage. The second highest figure is that of the Provincial wares followed very closely, within one percent difference by the polychromes, including entirely overglazed specimens and Chinese Imari.

PORCELAIN

CHINESE	Ref	Page	n	Date Range
Underglaze blue:				
Dish, " kraak", one rim	W		2	1640-1660
Bowl, small,with deer, cloud and magic fungus (Crawford, 1680-1700)	K:VA		3	1650-1655
Saucer, deer, cloud and magic fungus	W:VA		2	1650-1655
Dish/charger/platter, (± 38cm diam), (Crawford, all-over pattern of lotus scrolls), (on blue ground, pseudo mark under base, rim decorated underneath, Kirkman: 98-102, plate 25) (Le Corbeiller: 36, c 1715) (Christies, 1989: 76,1662-1722)	W1	30;74	1	1650-1700
Saucer, "Rotterdam riot design" or leaf band in chevron pattern, block-printed (Lunsingh Scheurleer: 218, 1700-1750)	L:SH2:C	30:20	1	1690-1710
Saucer, moulded tulip, panel border	C		1	1680-1700
Saucer, octagonal	W		1	1700-1725
Saucer, panel border	W		11	1700-1750
Bowl, small, fine lotus	C		1	1710-1730
Bowl, small, artemesia leaf design, (Kerr, late 17th - early 18th century)	W		2	1700-1720
Saucer, small, octagonal	W		1	1700-1725
Saucer, small, moulded	C		1	1710-1720
Bowl, small, scalloped rim, moulded	C		1	1722-1739
Saucer, watery landscape	W		1	1725-1750
Bowl, small, " sleutel-meander" pattern	W		2	1662-1722
Bowl, block-printed Sanskrit character for "om", 4 smaller, one possibly saucer-dish type	K		12	1700-1780
Dish, saucer-dish type, sea-creatures	W		3	1725-1750
Bowl, decorated with sea creatures (Kerr, Fukien ? late 17th- early 18th century)	W		13	1725-1750
Dish/large plate/platter, dragon(Sheaf & Kilburn: 36, 1643-1646)	WH	61	2	1723-1735
Bowl, large plate/platter dragon (Sheaf & Kilburn, p36, 1643-1646)	YM	292	1	1723-1735
Dish, saucer- dish type, inscised lotus (Kerr, 1710-1735) (Jorg: 90, c1752)	SN:W	28	5	1720-1745
Bowl, inscised lotus (Kerr, 1710-1735)(Jorg: 90, c1752)	SN:W	28	3	1720-1745
Plate, one octagonal, with phoenix and linghi fungus (Kerr, 1750-1770)	C		6	1760-1780
Plate, arabesque border on cavetto (Kerr, 1750-1770)	W1:C	45	13	c1760
Plate, export porcelain, floral grape and bamboo decoration, water and rockery landscapes, Eight Immortals, Buddhist Emblems and Treasures (V+A Galleries, 1730-1740	W1:C:K		53	1730-1750
Bowl, loose leaf scroll, stylized Ming ribbon, and Floral scroll (Joe & Martin: 232, arabesque scroll)(Kerr, late 17th - early 18th century; Kirkman, 1662-1722)	C		8	1700-1720
Dish, saucer - dish type, pattern of concentric c-scolls around well, one restored for display	W1	36	2	1662-1722
Plate, central floral motif, cross hatching around well, rim with half-flowers + leaves	VI:CH4	1:17	1	c 1750
Plate, central floral design in scrolled cartouche	SH	589-594	2	1750-1770
Plate/platter, strong washes, saphire blue	C		1	1700-1725
Plate/platter, floral decoration	C		1	1750-1775
Bowl, small tea-bowl, (one chocolate cup? with handle scar, Jorg: 67, c 1760)	W		37	1730-1780
Saucer, small, probably to match bowls	W		50	1730-1780
Bowl, small, moulded decoration	C		11	1700-1720
Saucer, moulded decoration	C		8	1700-1720
Saucer, "Long Eliza" ("Lange Lijzen") central pattern of "Mother and child"	C		4	1710-1720
Platter, Fitzhugh-type border (with fish roe)	W1:SH	45:597-602	3	c1775
Plate, various rim parts, mostly fish roe pattern, diapered, lotus + butterfly	W1:SH	45:585-602	47	1750-1770
Saucer, heavy border pattern	W		1	1770-1790
Sauce-boat, spout	C		1	1750-1790
Vase/Scent bottle, miniature, everted rim, brown edge	SK	148	1	c1750
Vase, miniature, upturned petals/leaves (Macintosh: 127)	W1:SK	9:62	2	c1650
Vase/pot/jar, spearhead/lily-like motif border (Lunsingh Scheurleer: 194)	C		1	1760-1770
Statuette, robed, blue and white	W1:SK	46:157	1	1750-1780
Kendi/jug, spout only (Christie's (Monaco, 1987, 1662-1722)	SK:W1	42:21	1	1650-1690
			325	(39%)

Continued ... see overleaf

South Provincial:				
Bowl, rings and dots (Kirkman, rosette bands) (Crawford, Dehua ?; Kerr, 17th century; V + A Gallery)	H		4	1650-1700
Bowl, leaf twirls, bisciut ring (Dehua?)	C:K		8	1660-1690
Dish, saucer-dish type, cream body, biscuit ring, grey-black, green-brown and red decoration, bands and florals (Kerr, Vietnamese ?)	VO:W	184	18	1663-1700
Bowl, cream body, grey-black decoration, lines and florals (V + A Galleries, North Chinese, 17th century; Kerr, Vietnamese ?)	VO:W	184	4	1663-1700
Dish, saucer-dish type, dull blue + blue-grey, biscuit ring (Kerr + V + A Galleries, one with centre character "fu")	SK:K	148	15	c1750
Bowl, stencil-decorated (Kirkman, with differing versions of the "shou" character), blue-black (Annamese?)	K1:W1	109:15	5	1700-1790
Dish, saucer-dish type, dull blue, "chi" dragon among cloud scrolls (Vos, 1720-1760)	SK:J	148:95	7	c1750
Dish, saucer-dish type, dull blue, broad blue band around rim edge, crackled glaze	C		1	1700-1790
Bowl, chrysanthemums, conch shells, scroll forms	C		13	1700-1790
Bowl, large flaming pearl outside	C		4	1700-1790
Bowl, blue-grey flower and leaf scrolls (Vos, ogee-shaped)	C		1	1700-1790
Bowl, biscuit ring, sparse blue-grey Sanskrit character for "om"	C		2	1700-1790
Bowl, large, daisy/aster inside well (Swatow ?) one plain	C		6	1700-1790
Bowl, striped peony inside well (Crawford, Swatow ?)	SK:J	148:94	1	c1750
Bowl, biscuit ring with leaf or ring inside well, grey-black leaf scrolls (Swatow?)	C		14	1700-1790
Bowl, large, biscuit ring with grey-black ring inside, grey-black outside decoration, 3 with stylized caravals/ junks (Swatow?)	K		9	1700-1790
Bowl, biscuit ring, blue-grey watery-scape (Swatow?)	K		1	1700-1790
Bowl, brown rim, biscuit ring, blue-grey dots, leaves + crosses	C		1	1700-1790
Bowl, large, possibly plain white ?, biscuit ring	K		1	1700-1790
Bowl, one large, one smaller, biscuit ring, dull blue rings outside foot	K		2	1700-1790
Spittoon/shaving bowl, biscuit ring, floral rim	K		1	1700-1790
Jar/smaller pot, bases	K		3	1700-1790
Pot, large sides, outside cobalt blue design	K		1	1700-1790
Jar, small, unglazed at rim to accommodate lid	C		1	1700-1790
			123	(14%)
Brown glazed (with blue underglaze)				
Bowl, larger, blue and white inside, brown outside	SK	146	15	c1750
Bowl, smaller, blue and white inside, brown outside	SK	146	25	c1750
Saucer, blue and white inside, brown outside	SK	146	10	c1750
Box, flat section, brown glaze outside	W		1	1700-1750
Tureen/pot, "hotelware", outside brown glaze with white reserves (leaves or fans) with red + overglaze (Kerr, late 17th-early 18th century; Woodward: 48, 1700-1750)	C		1	1750-1760
Bowl, small, brown glaze outside, red + overglaze inside	W		1	1720-1750
Saucer, small, brown glaze outside, red + overglaze inside	W		1	1720-1750
Bowl, small, brown glaze outside, blue inside	J	89	1	c1752
Bowl, larger, brown glaze outside, blue inside	J	89	1	c1752
Saucer, brown glaze inside, white reserves, underglaze blue	W1	48	1	1700-1750
Saucer, brown glaze inside and outside	W		1	1700-1750
			58	(7%)

Continued ... see overleaf

Polychrome enamels (Entirely overglazed)				
Bowl, small "Encre de Chine", black monochrome with gilding (Kerr, c1750)	C		2	1750-1760
Saucer, border, with cartouche and central scene	SH	393-312	1	c1740
Saucer, border with cartouche filled with dot diaper	SH	350;693	1	1740-1770
Saucer floral, black, gold + red identifiable	SH	104	2	1740-1780
Saucer, with Arabic inscription, overglaze red + black in circular band decoration	CH:VA	30	1	1736-1780
Bowl, with Arabic inscription, overglaze red + black in circular band decoration	CH:VA	30	1	1736-1780
Saucer, hunting scene, black + red decoration	C		1	c1750
Saucer, fluted with gold	SH	403-407	1	1760-1780
Saucer, mostly ghost images remain, flowersprays, 2 with central scenes	SH:W	408	22	1740-1780
Saucer, with scroll band	SH	283-305	3	1740-1750
Bowl, only ghost pattern mostly remains, one with red daisy inside well, 6 larger, mostly flower sprays	SH	393-408	25	1740-1780
Plate, red, green + black identifiable	W		7	1740-1780
Plate, red overglaze, diaper border	SH	235-264	1	1730-1740
Jar, 2 with ground tops	W		3	1740-1780
Vase, neck sections (miniature?)	W		2	1740-1780
Dish, large, red and gold florals + Qilin/equid creature with wings (Howard + Ayers: 133; Japanese? 1690-1770)	YM:K	301	1	1690-1730
Cup, decorated with figures and scenery in black, red/ aubergine, with handle, near complete	J	68	1	c1752
		75	(9%)	
Plain white:				
Bowl, 2 very finely potted			6	
Saucer, 4 very finely potted			7	
Saucer-dish, flared sides			4	
Plate, undecorated			5	
Cup, for coffee/chocolate, with handle scar	W1	98	1	1725-1750
Jar, rim and base fragments			1	
			24	(3%)
Imari (underglaze blue + overglaze)				
Bowl, small, blue stripe around rim	C		1	1700-1730
Bowl, larger, bold blue design + overglaze (Dehua ?)	C		2	1700-1750
Bowl, larger, bold design (Kerr, late 17th-early 18th century)	W:P		4	1700-1750
Bowl, smaller, (Kerr, late 17th-early 18th century)	W:P		6	1700-1750
Saucer, four with flared sides (Kerr, late 17th-early 18th century)	W:P		12	1700-1750
Saucer, cream body, central flower motif (Kerr, late 17th-early 18th century)	W:P		1	1700-1750
Bowl, everted rim	C		1	1700-1740
Plate, base and rim fragments	W:P		5	1700-1750
Stand/tray, for teapot or teaspoon, flat form, surface decoration	W1	98	1	1725-1750
Vase, two blue circles around footring	W:P		1	1700-1750
Jar, ground top	W:P		1	1700-1750
			35	(4%)
UNIDENTIFIED (Oriental, underglaze blue)				
Bowl, small			2	
Bowl, larger			52	
Bowl, coarse porcelain			20	
Plate			68	
Saucer			6	
Dish/large plate/platter			12	
Other (pot, jar, tureen, vase, spittoon, chamber,statuette, jug, etc.)			15	
			175	(21%)
JAPANESE				
Dish, Arita ware	W1	52	4	1658-1683
Dish, large, one with crackled glaze (Kerr, late 17th-1730)	W		2	1700-1725
Bowl, large, Imari with biscuit ring + flowers in black overpaint (one in Arabic?)	K:W		2	1700-1750
Bowl, large, Imari, overglaze red enamel and gilded decoration (Crawford, Dehua?)	P		1	1700-1750
Bowl, for shaving, with cut-away section, Imari, underside of rim also decorated (possibly fragments of 2nd specimen)	J	103	1	c1752
Bowl, badly abraded	C:W		1	1650-1725
Bowl, dark blue	C		2	1650-1750
Dish, central fragment			1	
Bowl, large			1	
Chamber/water pot, flaring lip with biscuit ring (semi-coarse Sino-Japanese transition type?)	VO	165:242	1	c1678
			16	(1%)
EUROPEAN				
Vase, fragments of miniature, undecorated	CD		2	1720-1790
Jar/pot, bases and necks, undecorated	CD		2	1720-1790
Jug, handle, undecorated	CD		1	1720-1790
			5	(1%)
GRAND TOTAL			836	(100%)

Table 1.2 Parade sample of porcelain types.

From the above we gather that, as elsewhere, underglaze blue Oriental porcelain was one of the most popular ceramics. This is followed by the second most popular ware at the Cape, namely, South Provincial wares or coarse porcelain, seldom encountered in Europe. This category, therefore, has a specific Cape significance also noted elsewhere and supported by the archaeological data. Polychromes were obviously another favourite, nearly on a par with the coarse porcelain category. Brown glazed wares, plain white, Japanese and European porcelain items appear to have been less favoured.

From Table 1.3 it would appear that the porcelain assemblage may be apportioned in the following way, namely, approximately one-third plates, one-third bowls (including saucer-type dishes) and one-third smaller bowls and saucers. Platters, vases, pots/tureens, jars and the other individually listed items such as the statue, spittoon, chamber pot, sauce-boat, stand/tray, box and cup comprise less than one-tenth of the porcelain assemblage.

Underglaze blue:

The largest category of porcelain in this sample (Fig. 20) is the underglaze blue type (60%). This consists of twelve items of 17th century porcelain, a few dating around the turn of the century, a large percentage of unidentified specimens (21%) which are, however, Oriental and the bulk of the remaining porcelain is of the export variety of the 18th century.

According to Woodward (1974:35), the presence of "kraak" or carrack porcelain, known by this name since it first reached Holland from the hold of a Portuguese carrack captured in 1602, could only have found its way to this country among the personal belongings of early officials. These are the earliest porcelain specimens in the sample.

Carrack porcelain is the proto-type of much Sino-Japanese porcelain known to have arrived at the Cape in the last third of the 17th century, such as the well-known Company plates normally with the VOC monogram (Woodward 1974:35). The panelled borders of Carrack porcelain are characteristic of this type. The excavated specimens are of the later examples

which show a gradual deterioration in terms of its body texture which has coarsened, the previous relief moulding has become flat and the decoration has degenerated into stiff vegetal forms arranged in panels (Fig. 20).

PORCELAIN vessel forms	n	%
Plates	270	32
Bowls, larger	204	24
Saucers	144	17
Bowls, smaller	114	14
Dishes, saucer-dish types	46	6
Platters/larger dishes	30	4
Vases	9	1
Pots/tureens/jars	9	1
Jars/smaller pots	3	0,3
Statue	1	0,1
Spittoon	1	0,1
Chamber pot	1	0,1
Sauce-boat	1	0,1
Stand/tray	1	0,1
Box	1	0,1
Cup	1	0,1
	836	100%

Table 1.3 **Vessel forms in the porcelain category, Parade sample.**

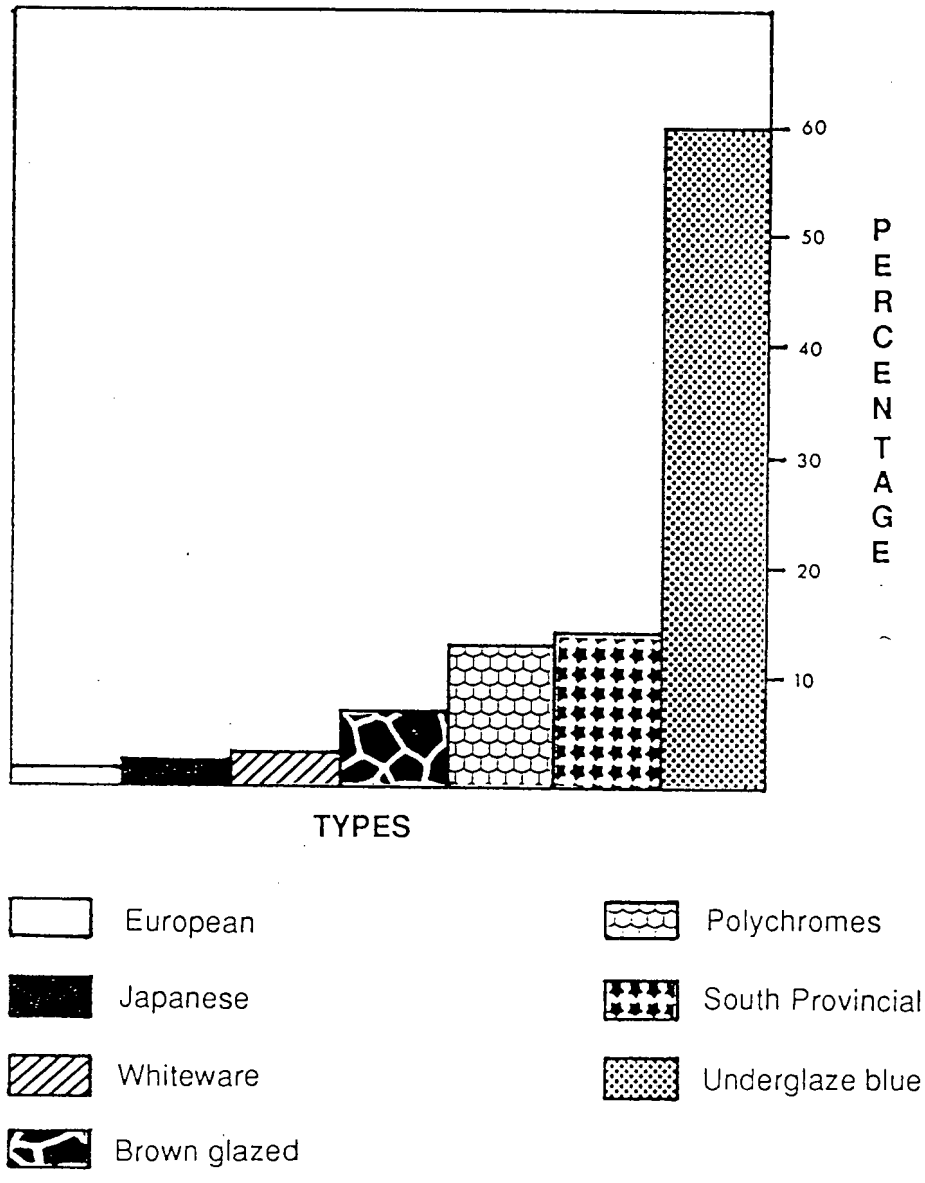


Fig. 20. Parade sample, percentage of porcelain types.

Of the later 17th century period there are three fine little bowls and two saucers decorated with deer, clouds and the magic fungus (Fig. 21). One miniature vase with upturned petals/leaves also dates to this period. One late 17th century saucer consists of a panelled

border with moulded tulips. Also possibly of the late 17th century is part of a specimen resembling the delicate spout of a kendi or jug, but more likely part of a kendi. These items are defined as bulbous drinking vessels with mammiform spouts designed for drinking without touching the vessel to the lips (Sheaf and Kilburn 1988:183). The kendi is also referred to as a "gendi" or "gorgelet" (Woodward 1974:7; 21). According to Savage and Newman (1974:167), the word kendi is of Persian origin. These items were made in China mainly for export to the Middle East.

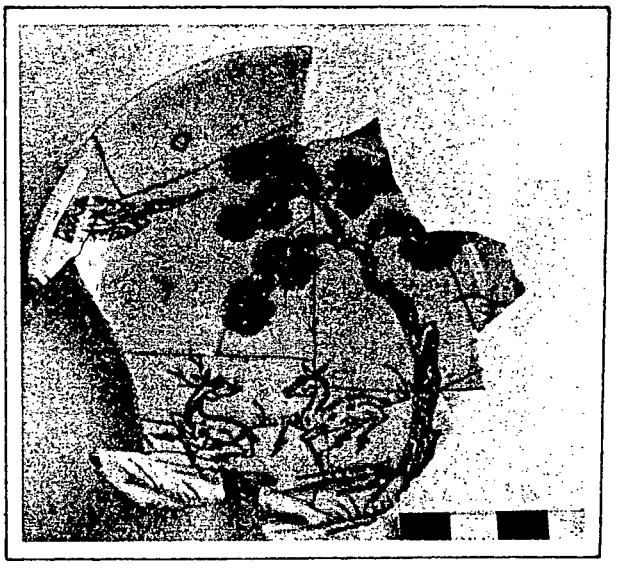


Fig. 21. **Chinese porcelain saucer decorated in under-glaze blue with deer, clouds and magic fungus.**

One large dish of approximately 38 cm in diameter was found decorated with an all-over pattern of lotus scrolls on a blue ground. Enormous porcelain salad dishes of one yard in diameter are described by Mentzel (1944: 122) in use at a 1730s wedding feast at the Cape. These large dishes could not be taken in ordinary luggage but carried separately in the cabin. This is possibly the reason why they were seldom found in Europe (Woodward 1974:174).

Circular dishes like the one in the sample could possibly have served this purpose and dates into the early 18th century are conceivable and have been suggested by others (Christies 1989:76; Le Corbeiller 1974:36) (Table 1.2).

The blue-and-white wares of the Kangxi period (1662-1722) are valued for the quality of their painting and the technical excellence of their clays, paints, glazes and finishing (Lungsingh Scheurleer 1974: 74 : Woodward 1980: 11). In general the paintings include figures, animals and landscapes evenly distributed over the background, the outlines of which are finely drawn and the spaces filled in with blue washes. Among these types in the sample are small bowls and saucers, larger bowls and one large dish. One of the saucers is decorated with the "Rotterdam riot design" border, similar to pieces dated to the first half of the 18th century on display in the Centraal Museu, Utrecht (Lunsingh Scheurleer 1974: 218). The "Rotterdam riot design" border is one of the earliest European designs painted on Chinese porcelain, derived from a silver medal of the riots which took place in 1690 (Du Boulay 1984: 252). Four saucers are decorated with a central pattern of "Long eliza" and others with elongated Chinese ladies (Lungsingh Scheurleer 1974: 74). Two small bowls are sparsely decorated with a pattern referred to as "sleutel-meander" (Woodward pers comm). Two saucer-dish types are decorated with a pattern of concentric C-scrolls around the well. Two Japanese bowls decorated in dark blue possibly fall within this period as well as one large dish decorated in overglaze red and gold, also possibly of Japanese origin.

Various export porcelain plates with decorations including floral, grape and bamboo designs with water and rockery landscapes, the Eight Immortals, Buddhist Emblems and Treasures were found (Fig. 22). There were 53 of these during to 1730-1750. A further 47 plates, represented by various rim parts mostly with the fish roe pattern, diapered and lotus and butterfly design, were dated to 1750-1770.

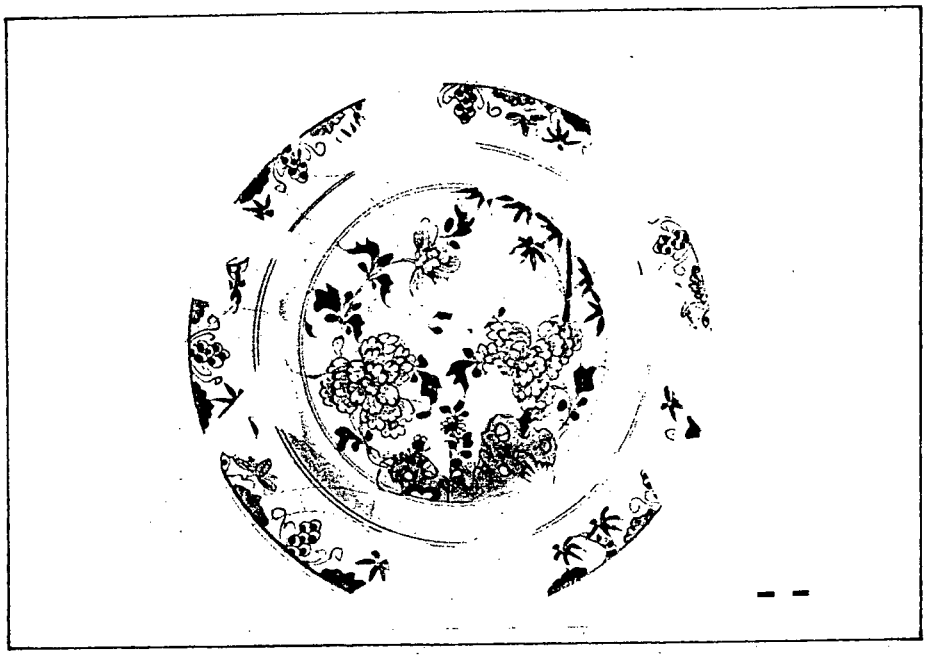


Fig. 22 **Export Chinese porcelain plate with under-glaze blue floral, grape and bamboo decoration and rockery landscape.**

Apart from one statue, one spittoon, one chamber pot and one possible box, the bulk of the remaining items belongs to breakfast, dinner and tea services (Table 1.3).

The majority of the porcelain sample dates to the 18th century with most of it around the middle of the 18th century (Fig. 23) as with the other dated associated assemblages of glass and clay tobacco pipes. It may therefore be useful to consider what the basic items of a mid-eighteenth century service resembled and of what components it consisted. The Chinese potters of around 1750 were producing vast quantities of standardised porcelain which included long runs of dinner, tea, chocolate and coffee services unmatched in quality and prices in Europe (Clewes Salman 1988:17). The *Geldermalsen* was one of the East Indiamen loaded with such porcelain from China when she went aground in 1752.

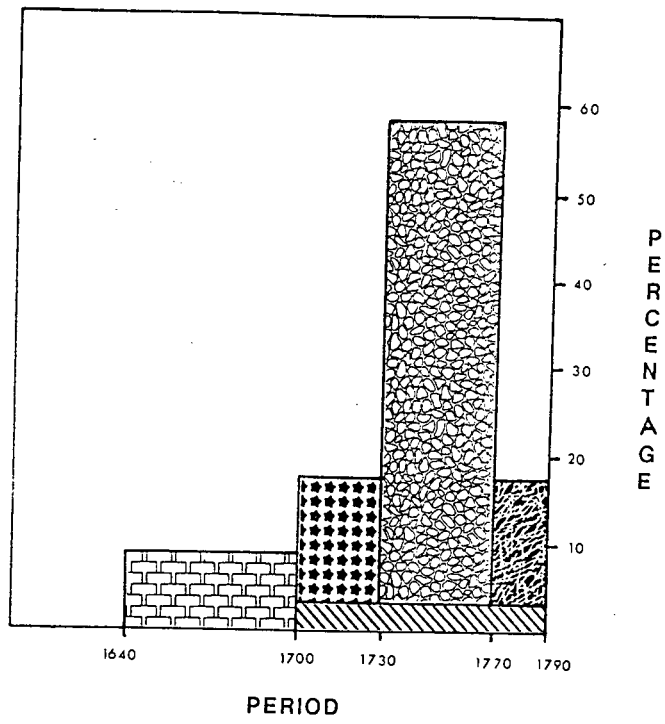


Fig. 23 Periods of Parade porcelain assemblage.

Comparison with Geldermalsen porcelain:

The main reason for comparing the Parade sample of porcelain with that of the *Geldermalsen* is because they both represent good mid-18th century assemblages of porcelain imported from China. What did the typical mid-18th century porcelain component of the ceramics consist of, or is this impossible to say? Of course there are a number of limitations in comparing the two assemblages such as differences in the kinds of information that they can provide. But when viewing this at only a cursory level, it is possible to gain some impression of the variation between an archaeological sample, with its local biasis, and that of a typical mid-18th century cargo destined for Europe, reflecting the Company purchasing policies. Such preliminary indications are valuable at the level of interpretation. Even relatively simple comparisons, such as presence and absence factors and looking at various ratios of different types or

functional components, are useful in this study.

The *Geldermalsen* was one of six ships commissioned in 1746 by the Zeeland Chamber of the VOC. It was a merchant vessel owned by the VOC and named after the country estate of the Zeeland Director Jan van Borssele. It struck a coral reef in the South China Sea and sunk in 1752. The *Geldermalsen* cargo of Chinese goods destined for the Netherlands was recovered in 1985 by Captain Michael Hatcher. The sale of over 100 000 Chinese porcelain pieces was named the Nanking cargo. The pieces were transhipped to Nanking during the long journey to the warehouse at Canton.

As a comparative collection this cargo is important for a number of reasons. The porcelain was a typical shipment made by the active East India Companies returning from the Far East. The broader-based interest in Chinese porcelain led to an annual business of importing functional ceramics for domestic use. The *Geldermalsen* carried a normal assortment of simple wares for daily use with not much variation in shape and decoration. The emphasis was on blue-and-white wares but Chinese Imari and less of the more expensive enamel colours were also included.

The Company's policy was aimed at profit in volume and mass goods. Apart from souvenirs and private possessions, the cargo reflects the Company's purchasing policy geared to the constant demand for ordinary consumer goods (Cooper 1986: 98-102; Hijmersma 1986: 592; Jörg 1986:61-103; Saunders 1986:39-41; Sheaf and Kilburn 1988: 81-98). The *Geldermalsen* porcelain therefore allows a detailed comparison to highlight the differences in the sample excavated at the Cape. It should, however, be kept in mind that the contents recovered by Hatcher was based on orders for 1750. It was not unusual for a year's time lag before purchases left Canton on the next available ship Sheaf and Kilburn 1988: 97). The problem was that the 1751 written requirements did not get through to Canton in time. A complete shipping invoice for the *Geldermalsen* cargo has survived (Jörg 1986: 59) and the porcelain assortment is listed below (original Dutch names in brackets):

171 dinner services (tafelserviesen)
63, 623 tea cups and saucers (theegoed)
19,535 coffee cups and saucers (koffiegoed)
9,735 chocolate cups and saucers (chocoladegoed)
578 tea pots (trekpotten)
548 milk jugs (melkkommen)
14,315 flat dinner plates (tafelborden)
1,452 soup plates (soepborden)
299 cuspidors (quispedoren)
606 vomit pots (spuijgpotjes)
75 fish bowls (viskommen)
447 single dishes (enkele schalen)
1,000 nests round dishes (nest ronde schalen)
195 butter dishes (botervlootjes)
2,563 bowls with saucers (kommetjes en pieringen)
821 mugs or English beer tankards (mugs of Engelse bierkannen)
25,921 slop bowls (spoelkommen)

The above list was copied from a letter with the *Geldermalsen* on its way to the Zeeland Chamber. The order for 1751, however not used by the merchants, describes a dinner set as comprised of the following items:

1 serving dish of 14 duim (1 duim is 2,57 cm i.e. 36 cm)
2 serving dishes of 12.5 duim (32 cm)
4 serving dishes of 11 duim (28 cm)
8 serving dishes of 10 duim (25.5 cm)
8 salad bowls of 10 duim (ditto)
12 dishes of 9 duim (23 cm)
12 dishes of 8 duim (20.5 cm)
100 dinner plates
2 octagonal salad bowls
4 candlesticks
4 salt cellars
2 butter dishes
2 sauce boats

From a less detailed shipping invoice of 1750, Jörg (1986:61) deduced variable dinner services ranging from those consisting of 25 pieces with only plates and serving dishes to larger services of 47 and 69 pieces with two extra tureens, sauce boats and soup plates. A bigger service of 84 pieces included fruit bowls, salt cellars etc. Four sets are clearly

recognizable in the *Geldermalsen* porcelain. Two are decorated in blue-and-white with a river landscape, one with a zig-zag fence and a boat with a fisherman and the other with a pavilion and a fence. One set is in Imari with an undulating border and another is represented by octagonal pieces. A fifth set is recognized only from an oval tureen and fragments of a large serving dish.

When looking at the details of these services (Jörg 1986: 59-103) and comparing them with the Parade sample, a few differences are noticeable. Apart from the single brown-glazed pot which may be a tureen (Table 1.2), tureens, salt cellars and candlesticks are conspicuously absent. The Parade sample is otherwise much more varied in terms of design and this could be due to the greater time range encompassed by the sample. This fact could also support the idea that matching sets were possibly only considered within the range of blue-and-white which could be replaced piecemeal to blend in with the rest.

Normally it was extremely difficult to acquire a complete service because, even if different factories produced matching components, during their dispatch along the water-route to Canton it was not unusual for one boat to arrive months later than the other and hence half the service could miss the departure of the return fleet. For this reason enamels were sometimes added to a standard underglaze blue pattern kept at Canton (Woodward 1974: 120). Even with specially ordered armorial services, slight variations were sometimes visible since several establishments probably contributed to one service. The Parade sample is further complicated by breakages at different times which creates a more varied picture.

In conclusion, when a comparison (Table 1.4) is drawn between the porcelain vessel forms of the *Geldermalsen* (n=*Geldelmalsen* vessel count=G%) and the Parade sample (P%), a number of interesting points emerge.

The following is a list of vessel forms from the *Geldermalsen* invoice of its cargo. Each dinner service has been represented by 100 plates. Pieces not itemized on the invoice are listed as Hatcher's find.

VESSEL FORM	n.	G%	P%
Plates(soup plates,dinner plate)	32867	20	32
Bowls, larger & slop bowls	25921	16	24
Bowls, smaller, and saucers/tea-and coffee cups and saucers	85898	53	31
Dishes, saucer-dish types	1447	0,9	6
Platters/larger dishes,fish dishes	2075	1,3	4
Cups (chocolate cups & saucers)	9735	6	0,1
Vases	-	-	1
Jars/tureens/pots/butter pots	195	0,15	1,2
Statue (Hatcher's find)	68	0,1	0,1
Spittoons/cuspidors	299	0,2	0,1
Chamber pots/vomit pots	606	0,5	0,1
Sauce-boat (Hatcher's find)	69	0,1	0,1
Stand/tray	-	-	0,1
Box (Hatcher's find)	5	0,02	0,1
Porcelain tea pots	578	0,5	-
Milk bowls	548	0,5	-
Mugs/beer tankards	821	0,6	-
Shaving bowl (Hatcher's find)	2	0,01	0,1
Garnitures/vases/ginger pets/ewers/ basins/unassorted articles (H.find)	110	0,12	-
	161 244	**100%**	**100%**

Table 1.4 Comparison of vessel forms from the Parade porcelain sample and the *Geldermalsen* porcelain.

In the higher categories such as the plates, larger bowls and tea-and coffee-cups and saucers, the distribution is much more equitable within the Parade (32%; 24%; 31%) and more variable within the *Geldermalsen* porcelain (20%; 16%; 53%). Consideration should be given to the *Geldermalsen* figures of plates which were merely estimated at 100 per service. This could of course be inaccurate and if the numbers were larger, the percentage would increase and tend towards that of the Parade. It therefore appears that the Cape sample has a greater emphasis on plates than that demanded in Europe. The Parade sample may also represent greater breakages among the plates, but this would still indicate a greater usage factor among the plates.

In the count of plates, soup plates and dinner plates have been added together. Because it is sometimes difficult to differentiate between them in the excavated sample. The more complete *Geldermalsen* specimens differentiate between normal dinner plates and soup plates which are approximately 4,5 cm deep (Jörg 1986:77).

The larger bowls comprise 24% of the Parade sample and 16% of the Geldermalesen

porcelain. Again, the Cape sample has a greater emphasis on bowls, and the coarse porcelain bowls contribute substantially to this. The reference to slop bowls in the *Geldermalsen* cargo includes bowls used for rinsing tea cups before using them again for a different kind of tea.

The most significant difference between the Parade and *Geldermalsen* porcelain is noted under the category of teacups, coffee cups and saucers; a 22% difference is evident. From this it may be postulated that tea-drinking in Europe was more emphasized, particularly using imported Oriental porcelain.

At the Cape, on the other hand, judging from the similar proportions of tea wares and dinner plates (31% and 32%), the tea ceremony seems to have been placed on a par with meal occasions. In addition to this is the proportion of chocolate cups and saucers in the *Geldermalsen* porcelain (6%) as against one specimen (0,1%) in the Parade sample. Handled cups only became fashionable after 1760. In an archival document of 1758, examples of chocolate cups were illustrated for the Canton factory (Jörg 1986: 69). The *Geldermalsen* specimens therefore represent the height of fashion in Europe, not attained by Cape society.

Unless the bowls were distinctly larger, those representing the tea cups and coffee cups in the Parade sample were added together. Unlike the Parade sample, the *Geldermalsen* pieces could be differentiated by their sizes. The coffee cups were found to be a little bigger and wider (4,5 cm height and 8,5 cm width) than ordinary tea cups (3,5 cm height and 7,5 cm width) and smaller tea cups (3,3 cm height and 6 cm width). This type of ware appears to have been in high demand in Europe and could be relatively easily packed and stowed in places all over the ship (Jörg 1986: 67).

There is a relatively big difference between percentages of the saucer-dish types from the Parade and those of the *Geldermalsen*. Again a large proportion of this category is contributed by coarse porcelain wares in the Cape samples, and unless the criteria of saucer-dish types have been confused between the two comparative samples, this signifies a

characteristic of the Cape assemblage which will be discussed in detail later.

The difference in the numbers of the platters and large dishes between the two samples may be accounted for by the fact that the 171 dinner services on the *Geldermalsen* would also have included serving platters which were not included in this count. Fish dishes, however, were included since they were intended especially for serving fish and measured between 41-46 cm. in diameter. They were decorated with four carp among water plants, and smaller versions were used for shrimps or butter. Jörg considers these to be "fancy" objects purchased at considerably higher prices. None of these specimens were found in the Parade sample and this seems to indicate that even though marine foods played a definite part in the Cape diet, sober prices and practical considerations were more important. Bowls with sea creatures resembling the dragon pattern do occur in the Parade sample.

The butter dishes and sauce-boats, like the larger serving dishes, also belonged to the main services and have not been estimated in this count. The relevance of comparing these proportions in the two samples is therefore negligible. What is evident is that the Cape sample has all these types of porcelain except the salt sellers which formed part of the *Geldermalsen* services. Not represented in the Parade sample are porcelain tea pots, milk bowls and mugs or beer tankards. Five possible Yixing teapots have been noted in the stoneware category. Their exact dating remains a challenge. In both samples sugar bowls and tea caddies are completely missing. Jörg proposes that this may be due to a temporary saturation of the market (1986:71). The fact that these are also missing from the Parade sample possibly suggests that they were not part of more common household tea services. The same might apply to porcelain teapots and milk bowls at the Cape since these were not found in the sample as they are in the *Geldermalsen* cargo.

The closest ties between the samples are noted under the category of items which were usually shipped as private cargo. These included little vases, jars, statues, spittoons, chamber pots, boxes, shelving bowls, garnitures and other unsorted collectors' items. The Parade excavations produced two Japanese Imari shaving bowls, almost identical to those found on

the *Geldermalsen.* These are rare specimens and probably represented the prized possession of someone of note, the surgeon or one of the senior officers.

In summary, tureens, salt cellars and candlesticks are absent from the local sample but since there is a difference in the survival rates between the two samples, this cannot be used as conclusive evidence in comparing the two different sets of data. The most significant difference between the Parade and *Geldermalsen* samples is in cups and saucers, reflecting more emphasis on tea-drinking from fashionable handled-cups imported from the Orient into Europe. This is supported by the presence of porcelain teapots and milk bowls in the *Geldermalsen* sample, of which negligible fragments in stoneware were found in the Parade sample. Sugar bowls and tea caddies are missing from both.

With saucer-dish types contributed by coarse porcelain, the Cape once again features prominantly, a preference which is becoming more evident within this assemblage and in comparison with other assemblages. This will be discussed in more detail under the section on South Provincial wares.

The more expensive fish dishes found in the *Geldermalsen* assemblages do not appear in the Parade asseblage, but sea creatures and dragon patterns are found. At the Cape, it may be that the cost factor discouraged the selection of the more expensive, specialized porcelain. However, items of private cargo and collectors' pieces seem to have been equally sought-after both locally and back in Europe.

South Provincial wares (Coarse porcelain):

Among the porcelain types, the coarse porcelain or Provincial wares from southern China form the second highest category in the sample. It seems that indeed, as Woodward suspected (1974: 202), this has been little studied and has a distinct relevance to the Cape. The coarse porcelain referred to includes items with a white to grey or buff stoneware-like body considered as porcelain by the Chinese (Van Tent 1982:197-200). These items were often heavily potted, coarse-grained and decorated in tones of blue, blue-green and blue-grey (Vos

1985:15). Certain specimens are also decorated in green and red overglaze enamels. An unglazed biscuit ring around a central glazed well is a common feature. The footrings display adhering sand and other impurities. Decorations are vigorous and bold with faunal, floral, abstract designs and character representations (Fig. 24).

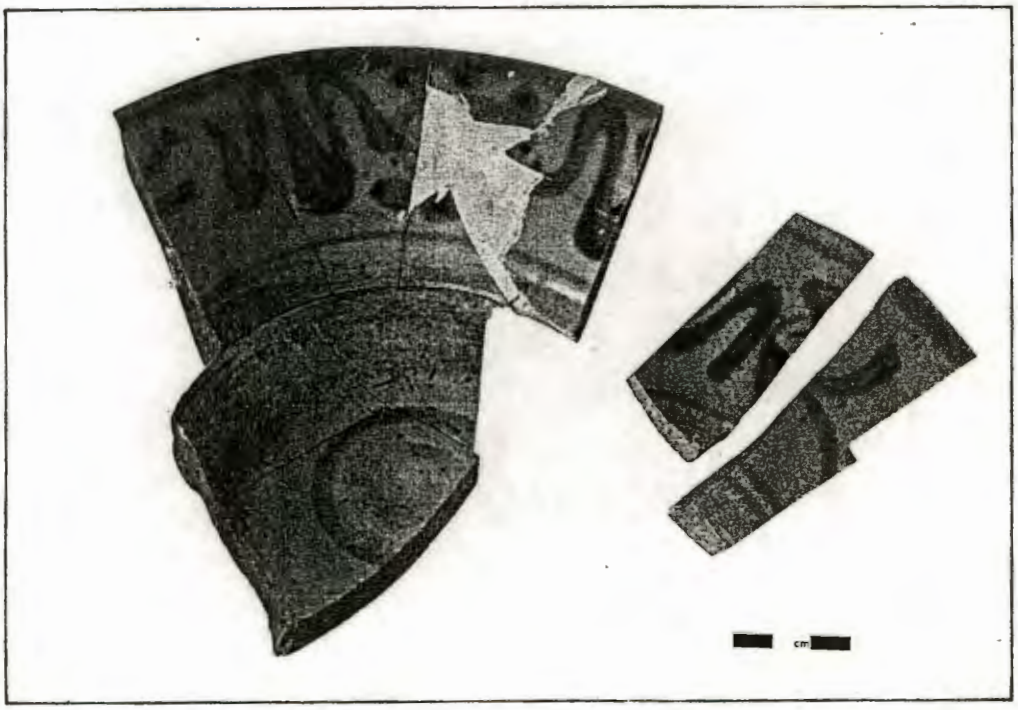


Fig. 24. **Saucer-dish type of South Provincial coarse porcelain with dull blue-grey decoration and biscuit ring.**

Attribution:

The coarse porcelain production and export centres are mainly attributed to the south-east provincial kilns of China (Vos 1985:16). The provinces of Chekiang, Fukien, Kwangtung, Kwangsi and Kiangsi produced coarse porcelain. Dutch traders also dealt in coarse porcelain with the South East Asian countries like Burma, Siam (Thailand), Cambodia, Laos, Vietnam, Indonesia, the Philippines, Malaya etc. During the later 17th century the Company was also supplied with mass-produced, cheap coarse ware from Tonking.

The distinction between fine and coarse porcelain is already known, since from the 16th century there were descriptions of Portuguese voyages (Garner 1970:54-57; Ottema 1970: 77). This distinction is also noted in the oldest Daghregister of the Fort at Batavia of 1624. The course porcelain was traded with Indonesia itself as well as all the islands of the Indonesian Archipelago, India, Persia and Japan. Collections of household porcelain of the late 16th and early 17th century in Aurangabad contain coarse porcelain alongside Ming celadonware and carrack porcelain. Certain of the coarse porcelain wares in Atjeh are found with Koranic inscriptions (Fig. 25). The name of the prophet Mohammed and the first four Kaliefen, Abu Akbar, Umar, Uthman and Ali are sometimes mentioned. Two examples in the sample of coarse porcelain demonstrates this custom whereby Arabic script is painted in black overglaze across the area of the central well. The pieces are in Imari and suspected to be of Japanese origin (Fig. 21). According to Ottema (1970: 77), the Japanese considered the coarse porcelain decoration to be of great aesthetic value, to such an extent that it was imitated there and named "gosu" in the 2nd half of the 19th century at Kamyama which is close to Nagasaki.

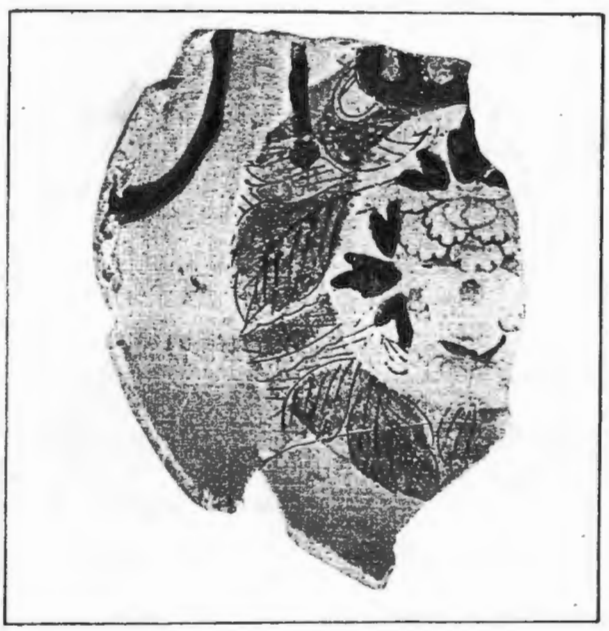


Fig. 25. **South Provincial or Japanese coarse porcelain bowl in Imari with part of an Arabic inscription in black overglaze across the biscuit ring.**

As yet, the dating and identification of origin of this category of porcelain is still problematic. According to Jenyns (1971:82) the dates could range from the 17th to the 18th centuries and later. Specimens allocated to the 19th century have been illustrated from an exhibition held in West Malaysia (The South-east Asian Ceramic Society 1981: 1-16). Noël Hume has noted grey-bodied coarse porcelain of the late 16th and early 17th centuries found in California and Mexico (1985: 257). These are believed to have come from Suratow in Kwangtung. Shipwreck specimens have been identified from the Witte Leeuw of 1613 (Van der Pijl-Ketel 1982), the *Geldermalsen* of 1751 (Sheaf and Kilburn 1988: 148-149) and the Nieuw Rhoon of 1780 (Lightley 1976: 305-316). Coarse porcelain items have been reported from Kenya (Kirkman 1974: 98-105; Sassoon 1978: 129) and among most of the more substantially excavated local 17th and 18th century sites in Cape Town (pers comm Vos; pers comm Klose; S.A. Cultural History Museum Archaeological Collections). When speaking to different ceramic experts concerning attribution of this type, varying answers were given including Swatow, Vietnamese Annamese, Tongking and Dehua. All of these possibilities will therefore have to be considered in the discussion.

In 1662 the Dutch were forced to abandon their trading post at Formosa. No fine Chinese porcelain was officially shipped to Holland between 1657-1681. Fine Japanese porcelain was substituted. The supply of coarse porcelain from China, however, never completely dried up. Woodward suspects that a certain amount still came from Chung-te-Chen, but more so from Fukien in southern Chung (1974: 11-16). Swatow is possibly one of the best-known 17th century varieties. The Cape, Woodward believes, was not in a position to be selective and seems to have been supplied with Swatow and other lesser-known provincial porcelain. Certainly, among the excavated sample, a number of specimens have been tentatively attributed to Swatow and other South Provincial centres (Table 1.2). Because of the lack of conclusive evidence, however, these have always been added with question marks.

Certain of the criteria for Swatow wares have been described by Woodward (1974: 15-16) and eighteen specimens in the sample tend towards this description. The specimens noted are all cream-bodied saucer-type dishes (Table 1.2) decorated in grey-black, green-brown and red

in bands and florals. The sample specimens tend to be crudely finished on the base. The unglazed exposed body parts have burnt red-brown or buff-yellow and the footring and parts of the base are encrusted with putty-coloured grit. Green and red enamels are found, and sometimes underglaze blue. The footring on the inner side appears straight, the outer side of the footring is less articulated and the bottom of the foot is square-cut. Unglazed rings are found around the well. One distinctly noticeable feature among these specimens is a projecting square lip on the everted rim. This, especially, and many of the above described criteria also look similar to illustrations of export ceramics from Siam (Refuge 1976:15). These characteristic Siamese types were exported from the 14th to the 15th century. They were made at two centres, Swankhalok and Sukhothai. The production of ceramics came to an abrupt end when Swankalok was overthrown by Chien Mai in 1459. With these strong affinities to Siamese ceramics, it is interesting to note Rosemary Kerr's interpretation of the same excavated pieces as possibly Vietnamese. They have been dated between 1663 and 1700 by Woodward (pers comm) and Volker (1954:184) and to the 17th century by Kerr (pers comm).

The criteria of Annamese wares, those ascribed to various areas of what is today Vietnam, are described by Joseph (1973:135-203). The best known types appear to be related in shape and design to Chinese ceramics of the 14th and 15th centuries. The Chinese occupied Annam between 1400 and 1428 and hence exerted a strong influence on their porcelain. Although serving as inspiration to the mainstream of Annamese blue and white, the Chinese wares were not slavishly copied but developed with their own artistic style. The pre-classical style of Annamese blue and white, before the Chinese influence around 1400, was executed in a greyish-blue. The decoration is identifiable from the purely linear drawings executed in swift, deft strokes. The central design is invariably a rapidly drawn flower or "ling-chih" fungus. Spur marks resulting from the use of disc pontils are evident around the central design.

The Annamese wares subjected to Chinese influence have more elaborate decoration and greater variety in form (Joseph 1973: 136-203). Boxes, jars, water-droppers and bowls were among the smaller variety. The larger pieces included dishes, vases, jars, ewers and kendis.

Two groups occur, differentiated by the colour and definition of the drawings. The brighter cerulean blue is believed to result from the use of imported middle-Eastern ore with a low manganese content. The Middle Eastern cobalt was presumably more expensive and desirable, used by the more accomplished painters. The results are invariably drawings with more detail and precision. The local cobalt with a higher manganese content resulted in darker blue to almost inky black drawings in a more free brushwork style. These darker blue shades and brushwork style tend towards those of the coarse porcelain samples and may be of relevance.

Joseph (1973: 138) describes the criteria normally associated with Annamese wares and when these are compared with the Parade sample of the eighteen previously described pieces, a number of similarities may be noted. The greyish-white proto-porcelain is not translucent like its Chinese counterpart. The opaque white glaze sometimes flakes away and crackles. The surface finish is mostly matt. The bases were largely left unglazed with spirals. Floral decorations are seen but no animal motifs. Underglaze blue and overglaze red and green enamels are found but the polychrome wares are more rarely encountered. The Parade specimens therefore compare relatively favourably with many of the details of Annamese wares described by Joseph. One of the problems with dating these wares is that the forms and finishing are described as archaic in appearance and therefore often dated too old. Although pieces in this collection could be of important research value as 17th century imports, they could also date to the 18th century, as do the bulk of the other coarse porcelain vessels.

If the eighteen suspected Parade specimens are indeed Annamese wares, then this throws a great deal of light on the mysterious fate of this type of porcelain which, after the 15th century is shrouded in mystery (Joseph 1973: 138). The golden era of Annamese ceramics coincides with an hiatus in the history of Chinese ceramics referred to as the ceramic interregnum (1436-1465). It may be assumed that the Annamese wares captured the export market for that time but supposedly lost it again when China resumed full-scale production. Maybe the true situation was more complex, as evidenced by the Parade sample.

According to Woodward (1974: 16), it is impossible to distinguish Tongkinese from

Annamese ware. Tonking was once part of Annam and the first recorded shipment of Tonkinese ware was made in 1663. From around 1640 to at least the 1680s, the Company purchased Tongkinese items for daily use as a make-shift during the shortage of Chinese articles (Volker 1954: 184-186; 206). The first Tongkinese shipment, a considerable output of 10 000 coarse porcelain bowls, arrived as a new supply to the market in Batavia in 1663. It was noted, however, in 1670 that Japanese porcelain was exported to Tongking. Before this the Japanese obtained much of their coarse porcelain from China (Volker 1954: 128). The first supply of coarse Japanese porcelain was imported in 1658 into Amoy, one of the largest export centres of Chinese coarse porcelain. Volker proposes the possibility that this course Japanese porcelain was intended for the overseas trade of the Chinese merchants during a shortage at this shipping centre.

We therefore also need to consider the influence of Japanese products in our sample as well as north China which is mentioned in relation to coarse porcelain specimens in the Victoria and Albert Museum ceramic galleries. Two examples of Japanese coarse porcelain specimens are present. These are the previously-mentioned Imari bowl with a biscuit ring painted in overglaze black Arabic script and the chamber pot described by Volker as semi-coarse Sino-Japanese transitional type (1954:165; 242).

It should be noted that Georgina Crawford (ex-curator, Ethnography, Horniman Museum, London), who has travelled extensively in the East and viewed porcelain collections on exhibition in the main centres, has pointed out a great resemblance in the bulk of the coarse porcelain collection from the Parade with examples found in excavations at Dehua (variously spelt also as Te-hua, TeHua, De-hau). Jenyns (1971:81) mentions the production of porcelain from the potters of Fukien of which Dehua was the most important. Many unidentified pieces of provincial porcelain came from this province, besides certain of the export wares credited to Annam. Cream-coloured wares painted in red and green are also mentioned here.

The best-known porcelain of Dehua became famous in the 16th and 17th centuries and was known as "blanc de chine" in Europe (Medley 1974:133). These are normally white-glazed

and moulded pieces. No other published references could be found on coarse porcelain from Dehua but this is an avenue which requires investigation.

Geldermalsen comparison:

According to Sheaf (Kilburn and Sheaf 1988: 149), sites with coarse porcelain have been recently found near Hong Kong. The *Geldermalsen* specimens are certainly not from Jingdezhen but from the southern Chinese provinces. The shipment of coarse porcelain was not part of European imports nor does it feature in early European inventories. The ship was not destined for the South Asian ports where this kind of coarse porcelain had for a long time been sold via the Chinese junk trade to Batavia. It was not stopping at Batavia to off-load goods. The *Geldermalsen* was on its way to the Cape of Good Hope for reprovisioning, on its direct route home to Europe. In 1751 the Cape had requested a supply of 2 000 plates, 600 serving dishes (medium size), 200 large bowls and 400 smaller ones from Batavia. According to Jörg (1986:95) the *Geldermalsen* coarse porcelain was the remainder of this order. There was too much of it for private cargo. The condition of the coarse porcelain finds from the *Geldermalsen* is described as poor, with surface abrasion and marine encrustation, the result of having been deliberately stored in the upper, accessible regions of the ship for unloading at the Cape (Sheaf 1988: 149).

When comparing the Parade sample with the coarse porcelain from the *Geldermalsen*, a number of points may be noted. The order of coarse porcelain was over half (1200 out of 2000 pieces) of the total order for the Cape. The number of recovered specimens from the *Geldermalsen* cargo was even larger than the request which indicates the possibility of coarse porcelain as private cargo (Jörg 1986: 97). The Parade sample indicates a high proportion of coarse porcelain, the second-highest next to the blue-and-white category, yet substantially lower than half the amount (14% only). The Provincial wares in the sample are mostly represented by bowls and saucer-dish types and this is indeed similar to what was stipulated by the order for the Cape sent to Batavia in 1751. This order requested 600 serving dishes of medium size and 600 bowls, 200 large and 400 smaller ones (Jörg 1986: 95). The decorations found in the *Geldermalsen* sample are all represented by the Parade sample except

the decoration with fishes and those with precious objects.

Om-decorated wares:

One interesting type of porcelain is the block-printed wares with the Sanskrit character for "om" (14 specimens) and the bowls with blue-black stencil decoration (5 specimens) described as possibly Annamese or South Chinese by Woodward (1974: 15). In the case of the Parade samples, however, most of the "om"-decorated bowls do not have biscuit rings (12 specimens), except two bowls and these were probably made at different kilns. The specimens are decorated with simplified versions of the "om" character in tiers around the well, sometimes on the inside and sometimes outside. Five of the Parade specimens were decorated with a larger single version of the character in the centre of the well, and one small bowl has the character sparsely decorating the bowl on the outside. Kirkman (1974: 100-109) refers to similar wares with the "om" character or "comb over-all design", as it is referred to by him, dated to the 18th century from the site of Fort Jesus on the East African coast. Curtis (1990:55) also reports similar specimens dated, however, to around 1685-1710 from the site of the Governor's Palace, Williamsburg. She notes that these are usually associated with the Southeast Asian market and were produced for over three hundred years. Many of the coarse porcelain types, including the "om"-decorated wares, do indeed appear as 19th and early 20th century specimens in Willetts and Poh (1981).

Coarse porcelain types including the Sanskrit or "om"-decorated wares, the so-called "batik bowls" with forms derived from chrysanthemum scrolls or prunus sometimes in the form of striped flowers with buds and foliage forms, Swatow types with biscuited bands and the brushed "fu" character with vegetal forms and block-printed wares, are illustrated by Willetts and Poh (1981: 1-16). They are referred to as Kitchen Ch'ing, are found practically in all Malaysian households throughout the whole of Southeast Asia and the illustrated examples are dated to the second half of the 19th or first half of the 20th century. They are admired for their functional and robust qualities reflective of all folk art (Suffian 1981: V). "Kitchen Ch'ing" designs are considered as "devolution", a steady deterioration in the explicitness of earlier painted Chinese subject-matter to keep up with the increase in production levels for

competitively cheaper commodities into this century.

Dating:

Vos has suggested (1985: 17) that Japan, Tongking and possibly other South East Asian centres supplied the Company during the periods after Chinese porcelain was not officially shipped by the Dutch, namely between 1600-1685 and 1700-1730. According to a cursory investigation of inventories for the Cape from the 18th century, he noted a significant increase in coarse porcelain during the first decades of the 18th century as well as during the 3rd quarter of the 18th century. After 1775 there was a marked decline in the coarse porcelain trade. In sum total, the above suggestions seem to indicate dates of the 17th century, an increase during 1700-1730 and 1750-1775 and a decline after 1775.

It is unfortunate that the context of the Parade samples does not throw any more light on the coarse porcelain situation except for corroborative dates for the bulk of the Parade porcelain assemblage which peaks around 1730-1770. At this stage it is difficult to assess the coarse porcelain under study mainly because of dating problems. We do not know if the sample fits in with the increases suggested by Vos, with the concentration evidenced by the other ceramics or whether they supplemented them to fill the gaps.

Polychrome wares (Imari & overglaze enamels)

The polychrome wares, from which the Chinese Imari and overglaze enamels of the 18th century export types developed, was first produced in Japan in the mid-seventeenth century. The "Kakiemon" and "Imari" Japanese styles were imitated in China as well as Europe and proves that this style was much appreciated (Atterbury 1982: 48; Beurdeley 1962: 29; Scheurleer 1974: 164; Woodward 1980: 20).

Before 1700 the two most influential kinds of polychrome porcelain to reach Europe were Kakiemon and Imari wares (Woodward 1974: 25). Volker believes that Kakiemon only entered Europe after 1681 and it is generally agreed that the optimum period for both Kakiemon and Imari was the last two decades of the 17th and the first two of the 18th

century. When we consider the local sample, Japanese polychrome wares of the 17th century are not clearly evident. One exception, however, is part of a large dish decorated in red and gold florals and a qilin or equid creature with wings. This could possibly date to 1690-1730 and may well be Japanese, but still requires confirmation. Three Imari bowls of 1700-1750 are considered to be Japanese as well as the two shaving bowls of c.1752 previously discussed.

From about 1700, Japanese Imari was copied in China, probably encouraged by the Dutch. These were imitated at Ching-tê-Chên and sold at lower prices (Lunsingh Scheerleur 1974: 165). The difference between the two is sometimes difficult to recognise, especially when the typically Japanese elements are imitated. Chinese Imari is sometimes noted for its purer colours and more restrained style but it lacks the "excitement and poetic wildness of the finest Japanese wares" (Woodward, 1980: 20). In the Parade sample 4% of the porcelain (Table 1.2) is represented by Chinese Imari specimens. They range in date from 1700-1750. They consist mostly of bowls and saucers and a few plates. It is difficult to comment on the match between bowls and saucers and the decorative styles since much of the overglaze enamel has been lost. The count of fourteen bowls and thirteen saucers does, however, indicate that they probably matched. The samples appear to fall within the expected time range of Chinese Imari wares and conforms to certain of the criteria of such wares which were lavishly decorated in underglaze blue, iron-red enamel and remains of gold as the predominant colours (Woodward 1974: 27). Green and black were sparingly introduced (Howard & Ayers 1978: 137) and aubergine, green, turquoise and dull red and pinks are also known (Atterbury 1982: 48).

Under Yung Cheng (1723-1735) the above colouring started losing ground to porcelain in the "famille rose" palette (built around an opaque rose pink and white enamel) which appeared around 1720 (Woodward 1974: 45). In practice, however, these wares included a variety of enamels such as blue, yellow and green harmonized by the addition of white, so that shaded tints and modelled effects in the Western style could be attained. By 1730 this new style was well-established and its heyday lasted some forty years in the reign of Ch'ien Lung (1736-1795) (Howard & Ayers 1978: 147). While remaining basically Chinese, landscapes and interiors competed with birds and flowers on the export market. By the reign of Chien Lung,

the enamelers at Canton were prepared to tackle any required decoration, no matter how foreign the subject matter (Woodward 1974: 45). This is certainly evident in the Parade sample because a number of overglaze enamel wares (9%) appear between 1740-1780. The bulk of these are saucers and bowls with ghost images of mostly flower sprays (Fig. 26). A few plates with red, green and black are identifiable. Also in this category is the second cup with a handle in the porcelain sample. It is interesting to note that the Parade sample shows a time-lag of at least 10 years after this type first became popular in Europe.

Fig. 26. Chinese porcelain saucer with overglaze in floral black, gold and red.

The dating of these polychrome wares in the sample is based mainly on polychrome enamels of dated armorial porcelain compiled by Sanctuary Howard (1978: 150). From this we gather how strong the influence, demand and supply of armorial services were during this time. In the Parade sample there is no direct evidence of armorial porcelain which would be indicated

by the inclusion of the arms of the family commissioning such a service. There may be a number of reasons for this, one of which may be that this assemblage represents the more common wares of this society or that, among the limited fragments excavated, we could easily have missed the special parts of the specimens which bear the arms. Woodward adds, furthermore, that only a small amount was made to order for the Cape and surviving examples are exceedingly rare (Woodward 1974: 115).

During the 18th century the type of porcelain referred to as "Encre de chine", "en grisaille" and sometimes as "Jesuit China" was produced for export. The decoration included the use of black, sometimes tending to sepia with or without additions of flesh-colouring, gold and occasionally iron-red. These hand-painted items were finely copied from European prints and engravings which can often be traced to their origin. This type appears around 1730 until about 1790. It reached its climax in Europe between 1750-1780 (Lunsingh Scheurleer 1974: 153-163). Two specimens in the sample have been identified within this category. They are two small bowls finely painted in black monochrome with gilding and dated to 1750-1760. Four other specimens may be added to this category since it displays the included colour range, fine figure-work and inscriptions. These are a little saucer and matching bowl with Arabic inscriptions in red and black overglaze decorated in circular bands, a saucer with a finely painted hunting scene in black and red overglaze and a handled cup decorated with figures and scenery in red/aubergine and black. The latter four specimens are roughly dated to 1740-1780. All the specimens in the sample therefore date to the period within which these wares appear to have reached their peak in popularity in Europe. The range appears to be relatively varied and details of the subject matter requires further attention especially since much of it remains in ghost form only due to having been buried in the ground. It is interesting to note that no "Encre-de-chine" was found on the *Geldermalsen*, possibly because as Lunsingh Scheerleur notes (1974: 157), the Netherlands market was flooded especially after 1750.

The pieces with the Arabic inscriptions are particularly interesting and require further deciphering. These types are known as porcelain produced for the Near Eastern and Indian

markets (Howard and Ayers 1978: 461). They employed stylized flowers, geometric designs and Koranic and other religious inscriptions. A number of Chinese examples were exported from the mid-eighteenth century until around 1878. Dishes and bowls with Arabic inscriptions and numerals in a "magic square" were used in faith healing mainly in Islamic-India, Malaya and Indonesia (Beurdeley 1962: 159; Christie's Catalogue 1977: 30; Howard & Ayers 1978: 461; 470). The Islamic connection with this porcelain found at the Cape is of course no surprise and will be further discussed in the final conclusion.

When considering information from inventories, these appear to be rather nondescript in that they mostly mention porcelain without any further details. Sometimes there are distinctions between porcelain and earthenware and size differences, but "the rest is silence" (Woodward 1974: 162). The only possible indication of polychrome decoration is the mention of "Japaans porcelijn" and this Woodward believes is used to describe polychrome decoration rather than the country of origin. In the *Geldermalsen* porcelain references are made by the Dutch merchants to Imari and enamelled wares as "Chinese Japanese" (Jörg 1986: 81; 93). The general assortment of wares are described as the emphasis being on blue-and-white and Chinese Imari and a little less on the more expensive enamelled wares. The proportions of blue-and-white and polychromes in the Parade sample are 86% and 14% respectively; that is, approximately one-seventh of the sample is polychromes. The emphasis of the polychromes are on tea wares and so it appears that, even though in general terms tea wares did not outnumber mealtime services as they did in the *Geldermalsen* sample, they were preferred in decorated polychromes.

Another feature of the polychrome wares is that even though in total it only contributes 14% to the overall porcelain category, it contains proportionately most of the pieces not normally found in the VOC orders such as vases, jars and shaving bowls, but carried in Company ships as private cargo either legally or illegally. Woodward's comment (1974: 25) on Imari porcelain, "... gaudy, decorative and popular was almost certainly as fashionable a treasure in the Cape ... as it was in Europe", could well apply to the general category of polychrome wares here. She believes that the officers of the return fleet made full use of lax conditions at

the Cape and that illegal trade was more readily overlooked. Cape families had ample opportunity to acquire these gay splashes of colour and much desired Oriental specimens. The evidence appears to support this.

Brown-glazed wares:

The brown-glazed wares variously referred to as "cafe-an-lait or feuille morte", "Capucin" brown, "dead-leaf brown", Nankin yellow (when combined with underglaze blue) and Batavian ware (when combined with "famile rose" in white reserves), are represented by 7% in the Parade porcelain sample (Woodward 1974: 49). The bulk of these consists of bowls and saucers combined with blue underglaze inside. It is interesting to note here that only about one quarter of the bowls appear to have matching saucers. Fifteen of the same bowls consist of the larger variety which probably did not come with saucers. The remaining 25 still have only 10 matching saucers. One small bowl and saucer have been matched through their brown glaze outside and red decoration inside. Two saucers have brown glaze outside, one of which has white reserves with unerglaze blue decoration inside. A heavily potted tureen or pot with white reserves in leaves or fans decorated in red overglaze on the outside has been referred to as "hotelware" by Crawford (pers comm).

The VOC records indicate the use of "coffeehouse wares" first shipped in 1752 (Sheaf and Kilburn 1988: 112). These are described as more heavily potted, somewhat coarser and larger handleless bowls. Jörg argues that heavier bowls were more costly as a result of export duties calculated by the weight. According to the records, the last shipment of this line was dispatched in 1758 (Sheaf and Kilburn 1988: 112). Several pieces of brown-glazed ware with blue and white or enamel decorations have, however, been recovered from an East Indiaman, the *Middelburg*, which was wrecked off the Cape coast in 1781. This is proof that the line was continued and purchased up to this date or later. Lunsingh Scheurleer states that brown-glazed wares were first used in Ming times and afterwards in the period of K'ang Hsi and his successors (1974: 175). "Famille rose" colours (opaque rose-pink enamels) were added from the Ch'ien Lung period (1736-1795). Most of the Parade sample is dated around 1750 while four specimens with white reserves accompanied by underglaze blue and that with

red overglaze inside has been dated to the first half of the 18th century by Woodward (pers comm). According to Noël Hume, brown-glazed wares with enameled reserves are common in American colonial contexts between 1740-1780 (1985: 260). It is obvious from all these somewhat contrasting opinions that more work is required in this area of porcelain studies.

Whitewares, Japanese and European porcelain:

White wares (3%), Japanese porcelain (2%) and European porcelain (1%) are lowest on the list of excavated samples from the Parade. The whitewares are problematic in archaeological specimens since they could possibly also represent the undecorated parts of blue-and-white or other porcelain. But if we take into account that these wares are actually mentioned in inventories, there is a possibility that they are not mistaken specimens in the sample (Woodward 1974: 162). Among the thirteen bowls and saucers, six specimens were found to be very finely potted, one cup appears to have had a handle and one jar is represented. Saucer-dish types and plates also appear to be present in the sample.

These white wares are possibly examples of Ching-tê-Chên manufacture or "Blanc de-Chine" from Fukien (Woodward 1974: 169). Little information is available on the production of Blanc-de-Chine of Fukien which was mainly made at Te-Hua. Experts differ greatly on the dating of either biscuit or glazed pieces which have been found. Dates of before 1644 (Ming dynasty), the end of the 17th century and during the reign of K'ang Hsi have been proposed. Blanc-de-Chine was greatly prized in Europe during the 17th century and the fashion continued into the 18th century, particularly in Spain where it is said to have been better liked than polychrome wares. A great deal of Blanc-de-Chine was painted in Europe. The small figures, for which Te-hua became famous, was equally prized in China and Europe (Beurdeley 1962: 32-33). Even though this type of figures are described in the grotto of Johannes Muller, Landdrost of Stellenbosch between 1695-1712, no indication of these have been excavated in the sample (Valentyn 1726 : 159). At the Cape it therefore appears as rarely as it is described.

In about 1650 the Dutch East India company began searching for additional supplies of

porcelain due to the shortage caused by the Chinese civil war. The transition from the Ming to the Ch'ing Dynasty gave rise to political chaos which rendered regular production and export from China impossible. The VOC directed its principal attention to Japan. At this time the production of porcelain was at a relatively new stage in Japan and various dates of 1530, and 1616 are suggested for its introduction into Japan, the latter being the more likely. The new Japanese porcelain industry was concentrated around Arita and based on small family concerns, ill-equipped for mass-production. Many kilns are likely to have been engaged to meet the demand of export porcelain. The first official export of Japanese porcelain dispatched to Batavia is recorded in the records of Deshima in 1653. By 1660 a consignment of 5548 pieces was shipped to Holland. According to Volker the golden age of Japanese porcelain was between 1663-1672 (Daendels 1981: 4-16; Howard & Ayers 1978: 122; Woodward 1974: 17-19). The four Arita ware specimens found in the sample bear a particular relevance to the Cape since they had the VOC monogram and were devoted to official use outside Holland.

The Dutch East India company appears to have been the only European company commissioning ceramics from China and Japan specially painted with its monogram, presumably for official use (Sheaf and Kilburn 1988: 83). A whole chapter is devoted to this type of Company plates in Woodward (1974: 52-62). Un-monogrammed specimens of this first period of export trade have also been found. The Company plates with or without the VOC monogram are decorated with the phoenix or ho-ho bird, a Buddhist symbol of wisdom and energy, connected with Japanese emperors for over a thousand years. The Dutch admired its decorative possibilities along with the pomegranate, one of the three symbolic fruits in Chinese arts and representing the birth of many sons when it first appeared in the Ming period. The surviving Company plates are mainly large circular serving dishes (30-40 cm) or medium-sized plates (20-24 cm) possibly used for dessert.

The fragments of Arita ware dishes represented in the Parade assemblage cannot be ascribed with certainty only to Arita (Woodward 1974: 58). Imitations of these plates from other less favoured kilns have been recorded as early as 1659 and even today forgeries are in circulation in view of the high prices demanded. According to records in the Tropical Museum of

Amsterdam, it was traditional to hang a Company plate in every office. Woodward proposes that 18th century survivors were promoted from the table to the wall as treasured possessions of the Company. Before this, for a period of only twenty years from the 1660s, this monogrammed porcelain was made. During this time the Dutch were responsible for the nature of most of the decoration on export porcelain made at Arita and the monogrammed type was no more difficult or expensive to have executed. None of the Company plates appear to have been shipped to Holland but were used by officials, that is, the senior staff at Batavia and the outer offices including the Cape of Good Hope. The specimens found in our sample bear evidence of this privilege extended to men of rank also at the Cape, and in considerably lower quantities when compared to other porcelain in this assemblage.

The early Japanese decorations in blue-and-white were heavily indebted to Chinese prototypes and are hence referred to as Sino-Japanese porcelain, as is one of the specimens, a chamber pot or water pot of c.1678 (Table 1.2). The Dutch exerted a much greater influence over Japanese porcelain, continually introducing new European shapes. This possibly also explains why all the early VOC monogrammed underglaze blue Company plates originated in Japan. As early as 1661 the Dutch were unhappy about Japanese prices, which escalated over time. However, they continued to export small quantities in spite of declining profits and increasing difficulties. In 1680 Japanese porcelain was auctioned at a loss in Amsterdam and the last official consignment was dispatched to Holland in 1681. According to Arts (1985: 338-342) the switch in trade from Japanese porcelain to Chinese porcelain around 1681 did not exclude Japanese porcelain entirely. Many pieces of Japanese Imari and Kakiemon are known to have entered Europe between 1681 and 1715. The Chinese sold this Japanese porcelain at Macao and Canton for high prices to foreigners (the Portuguese and British). When trade with Japan was on the decline, the VOC brought increasing numbers of these Japanese specimens to China as examples of the types of decoration and forms required by them. This is how Arts believes Chinese Imari developed around 1700.

Indeed in the Parade sample the chronological follow-up of the Arita wares are mainly Japanese Imari specimens of the first half of the 18th century. It is surprising that the VOC

persisted in keeping the porcelain trade going with Japan in spite of the astronomical price increases and feelings of deceit and distrust. Arts proposes that the only acceptable explanation is that Japanese porcelain was highly valued and that the governors of Batavia displayed a noticeable preference for this type (Arts 1985: 341). Whether this is relevant at the Cape remains to be seen. The indications are, however, that this was not the case. The Japanese porcelain is the second lowest (2%) in the porcelain group. The limited number of pieces are furthermore thinly spread from the middle of the 17th to the middle of the 18th century and this may well be tied in with its high cost factor. Its paucity is captured by a quote from Woodward: "Rare as is this seventeenth-century Japanese export porcelain it is, nevertheless, nothing like as rare as eighteenth-century porcelain from the same source" (1974: 31).

During the 18th century Western potters experimented with mixtures of white clay and artificial glass frits to produce the type of porcelain which was developed in China over a thousand years ago. Their experiments produced two types of porcelain, hard-paste and soft-paste. True porcelain was first produced in the West at Meissen around 1718 at the Royal Saxon Porcelain Manufactory. Their earlier wares were decorated in a very sparse manner until many fine enamel colours were perfected to produce their unique "chinoiseries", a fairyland of Eastern fantasy which appealed to the European taste. Meissen became the fashion leader in the world of European porcelain until around the middle of the 18th century when various other factories were started in Germany. Apart from Vienna and the Vezzi factory in Venice, Meissen had little competition up to then. It was not until 1772 that a hard-paste porcelain was also used at Vincennes and Sevres in France and after 1768 that Limoges in France became the centre of a new hard-paste porcelain industry (Charleston 1971: 211-257; Cushion 1976: 9-18); Godden 1974 : XVII; Woodward 1974: 209).

What is interesting to note about the European porcelain (1%) in the sample is that it is the lowest representation of the whole porcelain group and is far behind that of the Chinese (76%) and closer to the Japanese (2%) percentage frequencies. It appears that the Chinese export porcelain completely over-shadowed the trade in European porcelain through this period of

VOC influence over the Cape. Only the odd fragments of miniature vases, jars/pots and a jug handle are alluded to. These are plain undecorated pieces broadly dated to 1720-1790. The origins of these pieces are difficult to assess apart from the fact that they are probably Continental specimens meeting the standard of Western potters in terms of whiteness and translucency. In addition they are hard, cold, sonorous, vitreous and nonporous, the defining qualities of Western hard-paste porcelain. Although highly fashionable in Europe at the time, they appear to have had a negligible effect on the local porcelain consumption.

From the low representation of European porcelain in the sample, we are reminded of one of the main factors concerning porcelain consumption at the Cape. The Cape inhabitations had become well-acquainted with Chinese porcelain through the VOC trade network with China, a flourishing business which cut right through the heart of the Cape.

The coarse earthenware

The coarse earthenware falls into two major groups, namely, European-style artefacts and indigenous pottery, which is only represented by a single specimen out of 160 specimens (Table 2.1). The European-style pottery is referred to as such because of its closer affinity with European pottery of the period. All the European-style earthenware is lead glazed in shades ranging between yellow, green, orange, brown and black. The predominant colours are orange and green with an orange-red body. Unless otherwise mentioned these vessels are mostly glazed inside and just over the rim or half-way down the body on the outside. Buff-bodied specimens also occur but infrequently with a brighter green glaze or yellow glaze.

COARSE EARTHENWARE

EUROPEAN-STYLE	Ref	Page	n
Lead-glazed:			
Colander, buff body, green glaze (probably Dutch, diameter 32cm).	WE;DS	36	1
Colander, orange and green glaze, (diameters, 3 X 32cm; 1 X 40cm)			4
Brazier, remains of glaze outside, two with feet			2
Brazier, buff body, yellow-green glaze, lobe inside rim (possibly Dutch?)	DK	81-88	1
Fire-pan, red body, lead glaze, one dark green glaze	DK	81-85	3
Fire-pan/cup/pot, small, various rim parts + one green base with feet and handle	DK	81-85	8
Pot, little, red body, dark brown glaze, flat base			2
Pot, little, grey-black body, green inside glaze, flat base			1
Pot, little, remains glaze outside, flat foot			1
Pot, little, globular, remains of glaze, footring			1
Pot, little, green glaze inside and outside two inscised bands at top			1
Pot, (crucible?) small, dark green-brown glaze, flat horizontal rim, thickly potted, heavily grogged			1
Saucer, small, red body, dark brown inside glaze, flat base			2
Saucer, small, deeper buff body, yellow glaze outside and inside, 1 with footring			2
Basin /pot, (approx 27cm diameter, 14cm deep) (serving ?), orange glaze outside & inside, waster, foot scar, one complete handle			1
Basin/pot, (serving ?), large, orange glaze outside + inside, part of one foot, parts of two handles			1
Basin/pot, (serving ?), large, orange-green glaze outside + inside, one flat foot, two handles			1
Basin/pot, (serving ?), as above, no indication of feet			1
Basin/pot, (serving ?), large, dark green glaze, one with handle and other with handle scar, no indication of feet			2
Basin/pot, (serving ?), large, orange glaze handle, high foot (approximately 5cm), wavy line decoration			3
Basin/pot, (serving ?), large, rim parts only and five with matching handles, one unmatched handle, two of the handles of smaller variety			10
Pot, large, orange glaze, 2 attached handles, near complete, base missing, restored without base for display			1
Pot (tripot) cooking, smaller, dark brown, green and orange glaze, high foot			4
Pot, smaller, dark brown-black (Manganese-type ?) glaze, everted rim, possible matching handle			4
Pot, small, brown, orange, yellow glazes matching everted rims, flat feet on 5 bases			6
Pot, large, brown glaze, foot with indent outside, base with chatter marks, matching rounded handle with thumb print, matching stepped rim			1
Pot, brown (Manganese-type ?) glaze, rim with horizontal lip, 4 fine inscised lines below rim			1

Continued ... see overleaf

Pot, brown (Manganese-type ?) glaze, rim with horizontal lip, 1 matching handle with indent ontop and thumb-print bottom			2
Pot, dull orange glaze, knob foot, everted rim stepped outside			1
Saucepan, orange glaze, 3 high pointed feet, matching handle (approx 18cm inner diameter)			1
Saucepan, green glaze, lower feet, matching handle			1
Saucepan, green glaze, 3 matching handles			4
Saucepan, orange glaze, handle scar, everted rim, 3 inscised lines below rim outside			1
Bowl/dish, shallow, everted rim, 2 orange, one green, one mottled glaze			4
Bowl/dish, mottled brown and yellow glaze, near complete, restored			1
Bowl/dish, brown, orange and yellow glaze, variable rims, Flat bases			11
Bowl/dish, deeper variable unmatched rims only			5
Bowl/dish, variable rims only			5
Bowl/dish, yellow-brown glaze, flat base, rim with frill below it outside			1
Bowl/dish, buff body, yellow crazed-glaze, fragment only			1
Bowl, small, buff body, yellow glaze			3
Pot, buff body, yellow glaze, one matching base with flat foot			3
Pot, small, buff with black inclusions, yellow glaze			1
Pot, globular, buff body, yellow glaze			1
Pot, small thinly potted, one orange glaze inside, one brown glaze outside			2
Pots, small, buff body, yellow glaze, rims			3
Pot, small, orange glaze inside, carinated outside			1
Pot, small, unglazed, rolled lip			1
Pot, orange glaze inside & brown outside, fragment only			1
Pan/saucepan, everted stepped rim, matching handle and knob foot, (possibly 24cm diameter)			2
Pan, large heavy hollow handle, no parts of matching body			1
Lid, orange, brown and green glaze, larger variety, (approx. 34cm diameter), one near complete, reconstructed			15
Lid, 2 orange glaze, 1 unglazed, medium range variety, (approx 26cm diameter)			3
Lid, orange and yellow glaze, 6 unglazed, (of which 2 have air-holes), 6 with knob handles, (2 with remains yellow glaze), (approx.18 - 20cm diameter)			18
			159
INDIGENOUS			
Unglazed:			
Pot, finely potted black body, relatively flat fragments, brown burnished outside, undecorated.	Av		1
TOTAL			1
GRAND TOTAL			160

Table 2.1 **Parade sample of coarse earthenware.**

When analyzing the vessel forms, eleven different types are identifiable (Table 2.2). The largest percentage consist of lids (22,5%), followed by bowls/dishes (19%), pots/basins (12,5%), smaller pots/jars/beakers (12,5%), pots/cauldrons (12%), fire-pans (7%), saucepans/skillets (4,5%), colanders (3%), saucers (2,5%), braziers (2%) and pans (2%), in descending order of frequency.

The locally produced coarse earthenware of European-style still awaits detailed dating and classification. However, as the bulk of the other dated artefacts fall within the period around 1740-1760, the earthenware sample is probably mostly representative of the mid-18th century.

COARSE EARTHENWARE vessel forms	n	%
Lids, 15 larger, 3 medium range, 18 smaller	36	22,5
Bowls/dishes, 4 shallow, 25 deeper, 1 green-glazed, 1 yellow-glazed	31	19
Pots/basins, large, with handles and feet	20	12,5
Pots/smaller, jars/beakers, one possible crucible	20	12,5
Pots/cauldrons, tripod cooking pots, 8 with evidence of feet	19	12
Fire-pans, 8 could also possibly be cups or little pots	11	7
Saucepans/skillets, all with matching handles, 1 with handle scar	7	4,5
Colanders, one with buff body and green glaze, probably Dutch	5	3
Saucers, small	4	2,5
Braziers, 1 with buff body and yellow-green glaze, possibly Dutch	3	2
Pans, with large heavy handles	3	2
Pot, fragment of one Khoi pot	1	0,5
	160	100%

Table 2.2 **Parade sample, coarse earthenware vessel forms.**

The single Khoisan specimen in the sample is identifiable from its finely potted black body, lack of glaze and decoration, and burnishing on the outside. This is probably of the type of Cape coastal wares produced by the Khoi pastoralists, the earliest of which dates back at least some 2000 years. These vessels had pointed and rounded bases for ease of transport on pack-animals and designs achieved by ridging, impressed and incised work, but these are not identifiable from the sample of fragments excavated. The earthenware pottery of the indigenous Khoisan was encountered by the 17th century settlers.

The need for locally produced pottery by Europeans is indicated by the samples of (white) clay sent to Batavia by Commander van Riebeeck as early as 1661 (Volker 1954: 109; Woodward 1974: 163). The Company was battling to overcome the shortage of porcelain caused by the civil war in China. Porcelain was sought, among others, from Japan and Persia. The popularity of Persian porcelain was unknown and Japan was not yet in its full stride to supply an adequate substitute. The Cape also suffered from thisporcelain supply.

Commander Van Riebeeck was relieved by Zacharias Wagenaer in 1662. Wagenaer had been posted as Principal at Deshima in 1657 and 1659 and played an important part in developing Dutch trade in Japanese porcelain in the 1660s, a formative period during which models, advice and decorative designs were supplied by him (Volker 1954: 127; Woodward 1974: 163-164). In May 1663 Wagenaer wrote to Batavia requesting potters. The desperation and anxiety concerning this matter is reflected in the following passage, quoted from Wagenaer's letter:

> "Van Batavia hadden wij gehoopt dat ons een Chinese off swarte pottebacker met dese scheepen soude sijn toegesonden geweest, gelijck verleden jaer gantsch ernstigh daer om versocht hadden, maer daer is niet opgevolght ende om dat dit landt geen calbassen, bamboesen ende breede-blaederen gelijck in India voortbrenght ende oversulcx oock met geen van aert gebacken off uijt hout gedraeijt eetgereetschap noijt sijn versien geweest, hebbende dus langh onse matroosen en soldaten als oock de meeste vrijelieden buijten op 't lant woonachtigh met eeten en drincken een weijnigh beter als de swijnen moeten leven, want soo drae hun rijs off andere spijs die haer tot rantsoen gegeven wort in groote ketels off ijsere potten gekoockt en van 't vuer gebracht hebben, soo gaen sommige derselver met een lepel en andere met een schelpje off

> met de vuijst daer uijt scheppen en na de mont brengen, over welck vuijl en morsigh leven, voornamelijck wanneer de aencomende passagiers sulcx sien, wij ons selffs schamen en daer van walgen moeten. Daerom wij oock u EEde. nu bij desen gantsch ernstigh comen bidden dat ons doch per eerste gelegentheijt een off twee alsulcke steen off pottebackers mogen toegesonden werden, dewijle tot noch op de passerende schepen geen sulcken ambachts-man hebben cunnen uijtvinden," (Böeseken 1973: 305).

The above passage indicates that Wagenaer had hoped to receive the help of Chinese or "black" potters, brought by ship. He complained that the Cape did not produce calabashes, bamboo and broad leaves like those found in India. Earthenware or wooden trenchers were not supplied to his soldiers, sailors and free burghers who were eating and drinking in living conditions comparable to swine. As soon as their rice and other food, issued to them as rations, had been cooked in big kettles or iron pots and removed from the fire, certain of the men would immediately start dishing out and eating, some with a spoon and others with a shell or with their hands to their mouths. Wagenaer was disgusted and ashamed of this vile and filthy lifestyle, especially in front of visiting passengers. He therefore implored the Honourable Company, as a matter of urgency, to provide him with one or two potters with brick or other pottery experience, since up to then such craftsmen could not be found on passing ships.

It appears that Wagenaer had found two potters because he reported in April 1665:

> "Soo hebben wij eindelingh oock twee pottebackers uijtgevonden en aen lant genomen, voor dewelcke wij nu een bequaem huijs met een oven laten opbouwen; hoe het daermede gaen will, sal den tijt wel openbaren ," (Böeseken 1973: 352).

The passage reflects that a proper house and kiln were built for the potters. Relatively soon afterwards, in September 1665, Wagenaer wrote the following:

> "Voordemiddagh is voor de eerste maal diverse zoort afgebacken en verglaest aertwerck uijt de oven in dese nieuwe pottepackerije gehaelt en seer goet bevonden, waervan des achtermiddaghs een parthije op de algemeene passer vercocht en een groote rest tot de naaste marcktdagh bewaert is ," (Böeseken 1973: 222).

From the above passage it appears that the first lot of various types of glazed pottery was removed from the new pottery kiln. The pots were found to be in good order and a small portion of it was sold in the afternoon at the general market. The remaining larger portion was saved for the next market day. By May 1666 Wagenaer could report back to the Company:

> " Met onse nieuwe pottebackerije gaet het seer wel.'t Aertwerk dat daer in gebacken en verglaest wort, laten wij alle veertien dagen off om d' drie weken eens in de passer brengen en vercoopen, maer om dat wij de beijde pottebackers, so wij van haer gedient willen wesen, gedeurig met een oppasser off guardiaen tot haer werk moeten drijven, meenen wij die vrij te geven en deselve insgelijcx enig heurgelt 's maents daer voor aff te nemen," (Böeseken 1973: 389).

Wagenaer's report translates that the new pottery works were doing well. The earthenware which was baked and glazed was brought in and sold every fortnight or third week at the market. But because they had to constantly keep both potters at work under a watchman or guard, if they wanted them to be of any service, they were contemplating giving them their freedom, at the same time deducting a monthly rental in return. In September 1666, Wagenaer left a memorandum to his successor in which he says the following:

> "Na veel omvragens en opsoeckens hebben wij eijndelingh twee pottebackers in de schepen uijtgevonden voor die wij oock datelijck tusschen 's Comps. korenmeulen en paerdestal hebben doen een huijs oprechten, en in 't selve een bequame oven laten zetten, daer in nu al verscheijde reijsen diversche zoort verglaest aerdewercq affgebacken en redelijck goet bevonden is, waer van oock al om de 14 dagen eens twee off drie groote manden vol op de passer vercocht geworden zijn, maer ten opsichte noch met een goede parthije van dat aertgeback versien zijn, laten wij tegenwoordigh de voorsz beijde pottebackers buijten aende nieuwe steen-backerije dackpannen helpen formen, daer aen deselve oock wel soo lange mogen gehouden worden, tot dat 'et overige aerdewerck vercocht sal wesen, maer soo de eene (dat een droncken bloet is) vrij wil worden, gelieft hem sulcx vrij toe te staen, mits hij van het huijs en de gereetschap daer in maendelijcx een matige huijr aen de Compe. betalen most ,"(Böeseken 1966: 86).

Wagenaer's memorandum sums up the pottery situation to his successor as follows; after much inquiry and investigation, they had eventually found two potters on a ship. A house and adequate oven had immediately been erected for them between the Company's corn mill and horse stables. Already, on various occasions, diverse types of glazed pottery had been fired

and found to be reasonably good. Some of this pottery, two or three big baskets- full, had already been sold at the market every fortnight. But since there was still a good deal of stock left, the potters were left, for the moment, to help make up roof tiles outside the new brick kiln so that these could also be kept over until the rest of the pottery was sold. But in the case of one of the potters (who was an alcoholic) and who wanted to be freed, he was to be allowed his freedom, provided he paid a modest monthly rent to the Company for the house and tools.

In July 1682 the following Resolution is noted (Die Kantoor van die Hoofargivaris 1961: 45):

> "Gemerkt de intentie van 't backen en verglaasen van potten door d' Hr. Commandeur bij der handt genomen van sulcken goeden succes wert bevonden, is g'arresteert buijten 't Casteel een poth oven t' extrueeren, sullende daer toe niet werden gebruijckt als Caapse gebacke steene om de grootste menagie."

The passage relates that the undertaking of baking and glazing pottery, was found to be of great success, but the pottery kiln established outside the Castle was to be used for producing Cape baked bricks as this was in the biggest demand.

By June 1723 the pottery problem had emerged again:

> "Door den Heer independent fiscaal, Cornelis van Beaumont, ter vergadering voorgestelt zijnde hoe dat door het overlijden der burger pottebackers alhier, de ingesetenen deser plaatse zoo wel als 's Comps. dienaren waren ontset en versteeken geworden van de bekominge van eenige aarde of pottewerk, daarnevens in consideratie gevende of 't niet nodig zoude zijn dat tot wegneeming van dat ongerief een a twee pottebackers van onse Heeren en Meesters op 't eerbiedigste wierden versogt; welken aangaande gebosoigneert zijnde, Zoo is goed gevonden en verstaan dat alvoorens daar toe te treeden, zal werden onderstaan of op 's Comps. uijtkomende scheepen geen menschen van dat ambagt te vinden en alhier te ligten souden kunnen zijn ," (De Wet 1968: 322).

The passage indicates that the residents at the Cape, as well as the Company servants, did not have access to earthenware or pottery because of the death of the resident potters. It was proposed by Cornelis van Beaumont at a meeting that, if the Directors of the Company would

consider to do so, this could be resolved by supplying them with one or two potters. This received approval on condition that craftsmen could be found and recruited from the Company's outward-bound ships.

It appears that the local pottery kilns were already becoming well-established in the 17th century, even though a few hurdles still had to be overcome. There is therefore reason to believe that a large proportion of the excavated 17th and 18th century material would have been locally produced.

The differentiation between locally produced coarse earthenware and imported wares still requires a great deal of work. Apart from the documentary evidence quoted, there are indications in the locally excavated sample which point to local production. One specimen is a waster product which would clearly not have been imported (Fig. 27). The specimen in question is a large pot/basin of approximately 34 cm outer rim diameter with a flat base, two large strap handles, feet, orange-glazed, red-bodied and typical of the other 20 specimens represented under the vessel form category of pots/basins (Fig. 28). The vessel was probably made to accommodate a lid based on the construction of the rim.

The rim of the body continues upright as well as projecting outwards to form a groove into which a lid could fit snugly. This peculiar rim has not been seen in any of the available published material on European coarse earthenwares. The one side of the pot slipped in the kiln and was consequently misfired, never to match up again. No kiln furniture has been uncovered and this suggests the presence of a waster possibly sold in a lot with other better pieces.

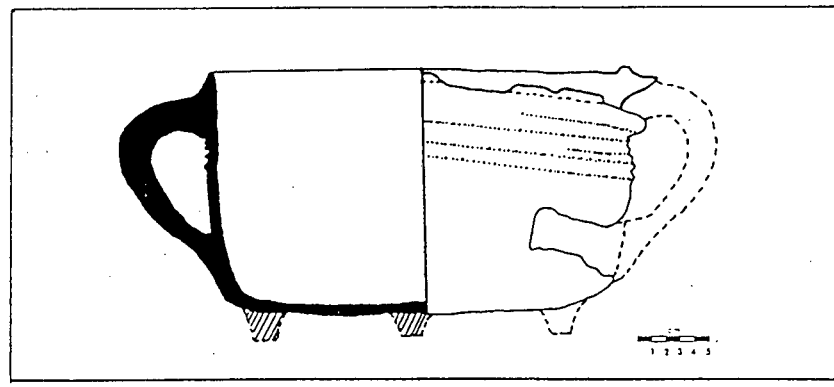


Fig. 27. **Pot or basin in a coarse earthenware waster product showing where the rim of the pot has slipped in the kiln and permanently fired in this condition. It is orange-glazed, has one handle and a foot scar.**

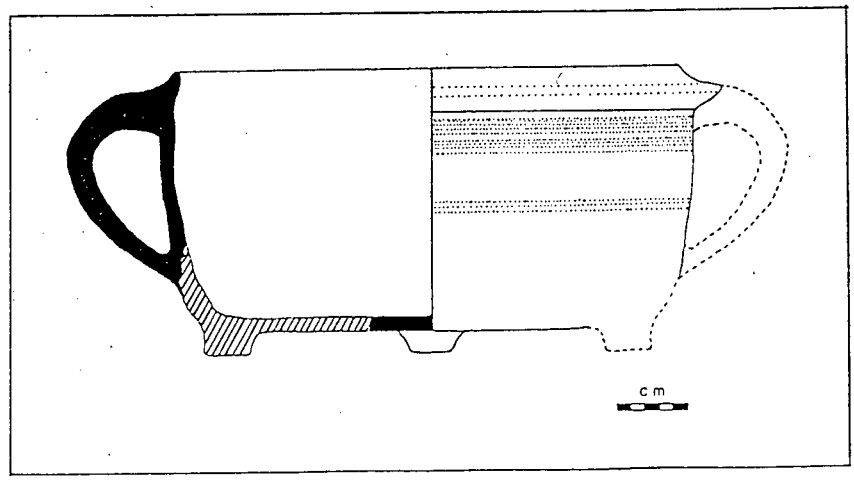


Fig. 28. **More complete, adequately-fired specimen of the type illustrated by the above waster.**

In contrast to the above-described waster product, the buff-bodies vessels, only nine in total (5% of the coarse earthenware assemblage), appear to be from a different source, either produced locally in another area or imported from overseas. Apart from the green colander and the yellow brazier which will be discussed separately, the style displays a number of differences from the bulk of the other pottery. The smaller pieces are much more thinly potted. The shapes are different, generally more globular in the smaller and larger pots. The glazing is a distinctive yellow which covers the vessels inside, and just over the outer rim. The rims are of three kinds; everted, rolled (especially on the smaller vessels) and straight or plain (as on the little saucer). One of the larger pots has a foot projecting on the outermost edge of the base, which has marks running across it. There is another large base with soot. The base of one of the smaller pots is also covered in soot, evidence of their use as cooking pots over the fire. Another one of the smaller pots has a clean, flat base and one has a circular, rounded footring, as does the small saucer. These form a group which may be differentiated from the other pottery on the above criteria.

The green-glazed colander with a buff-body, approximately 32 cm in diameter and with three feet and two horizontal handles, has been identified as probably 17th century Dutch (Deetz pers comm ; Wallenkamp - Roorda 1983: 318; Weijs 1976: 36). This type of colander was used for straining meat, fish and vegetables. It is made up to the present-day and is illustrated in a 1980s catalogue of a Dutch pottery works at Workum (Werz pers comm). In this catalogue three types are listed; a deep and a shallow kind and one noted as a potato-roasting pan. The Parade specimen, however, has no evidence of soot and was probably used for draining washed footstuff. The buff-bodied yellow-green glazed brazier has a very similar Dutch 18th century counterpart reported by De Kleyn (1965: 81-88). The inward-facing lobes are also represented on the Parade specimen. These are the supports on which a kettle or food container could rest. The related Dutch piece is in red clay and unglazed. Only the upper section of the Parade specimen was excavated.

When considering the imported component, Janowitz (pers comm) indicated the possibility of German influence on the Parade sample. This is interesting because the suspected

buff-bodied earthenwares may well relate to the pottery made in the eastern part of the Dutch Republic and in Germany (Frankfurt). These wares apparently presented stiff competition to the 18th century potters in the Western part of the Dutch Republic (Baart, Krook & Lagerweij 1986: 109; 149). The general kitchenware types made include those represented in the Parade sample. It should be kept in mind, however, that buff-bodied earthenwares were also made, but presumably on a more limited scale, in the western part of the Dutch Republic from imported clays.

The remainder of the pottery in lead glaze over red clay can be described under the categories lids, bowls/dishes, smaller pots/jars/beakers, pots/cauldrons, fire-pans, saucepans/skillets, colanders, saucers, braziers and pans.

The pottery lids fall into three size categories (Fig. 29). The first size (approx. 34 cm diameter) fits onto the larger pots/basins of which there are twenty. Fifteen lids of this size were excavated. The second size category (approx. 26 cm diameter) is represented by 3 specimens. They fit perfectly onto the 4 tripods uncovered. The third lid size (approx. 18-20 cm diameter) of which there are eighteen, fits the average saucepan/skillet and possibly any of the other smaller pots. Even though there appears to be a correlation between the lid sizes and related vessels, there is no direct matching in terms of body colours and glazing. This may be due to a number of reasons. The lids may have been made separately by one or more specified potters, or alternatively they may have been made afterwards in unmatched clays and glazed for only those pots which survived the firing process. Of course they may also attest to breakages in the lids and consequent size matching only.

Generally speaking the lids are mostly glazed on the outside, but occasionally on both sides. Unglazed specimens are in the minority, more prevalent amongst the smaller lids. The possibility exists that the glaze was lost during its time in the ground. The high percentage of pottery lids is significant within this assemblage and points to maximizing the possibly limited heat source. It could also point to an emphasis on steaming, stewing and retaining the temperature of hot meals.

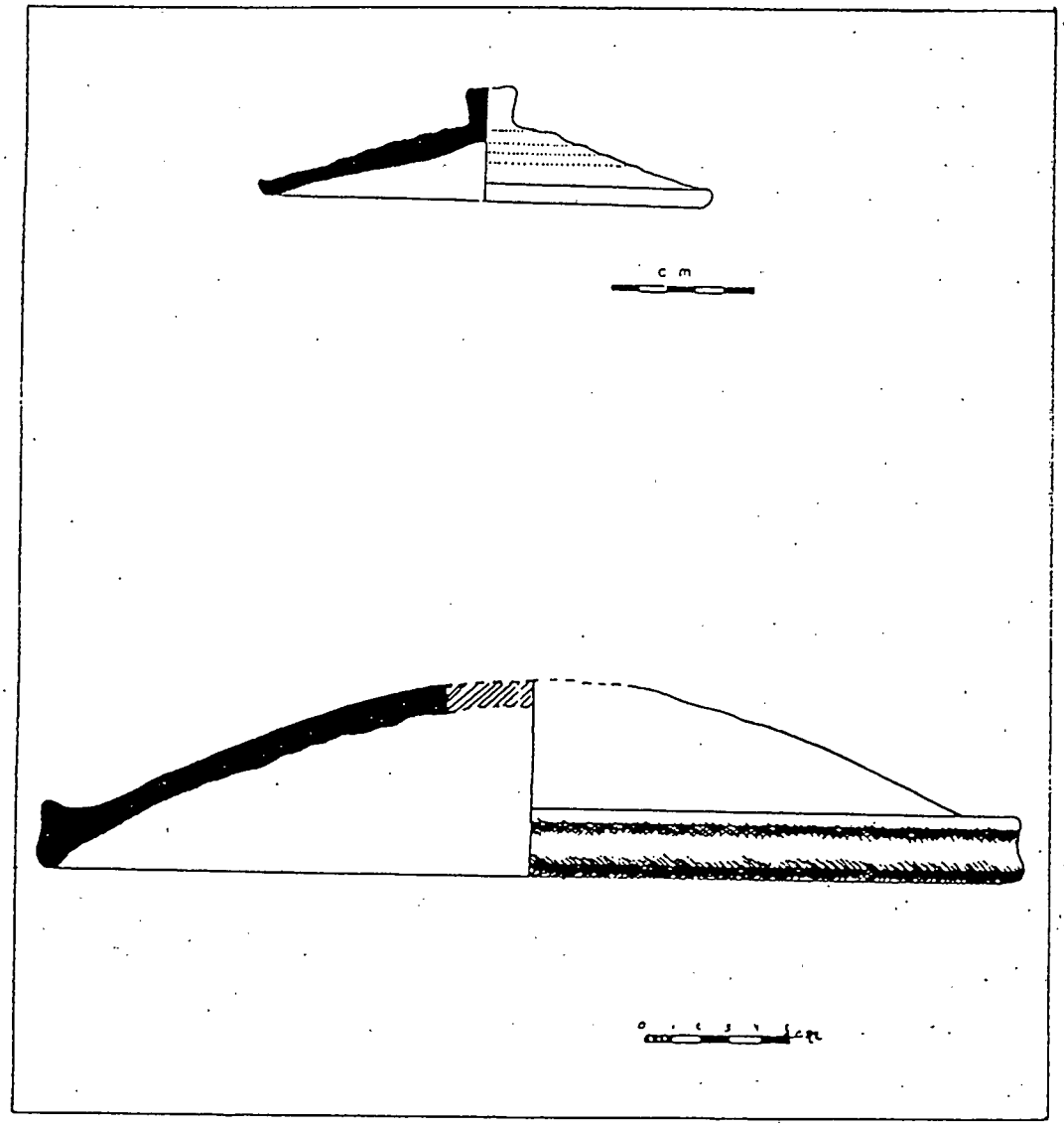


Fig. 29. **Coarse earthenware lids of the larger orange-glazed variety and a smaller unglazed specimen.**

Second to the lids, the largest category of pottery vessels is the bowls/dishes (19%). Most of these are deeper vessels without handles (approx. 80-10 cm depth) with flat bases and rolled-over rims, probably used for serving (Fig. 30 a-d).

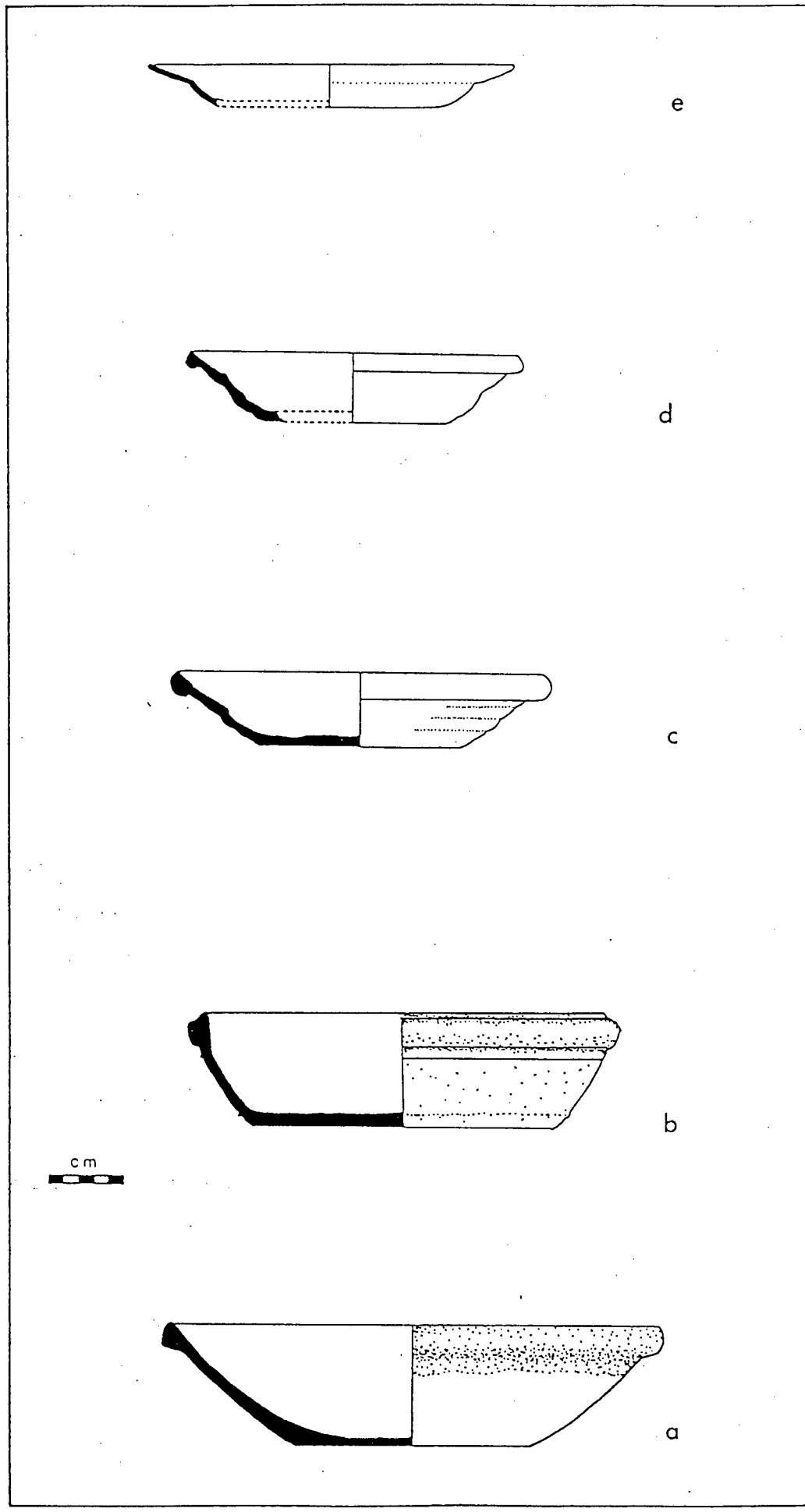


Fig. 30 **Coarse earthenware bowls or dishes with flat bases, in brown, orange, yellow and mottled glazes, variable overturned rims except (b) with a protruding rim and (e), a shallower version with an everted rim.**

The shallower bowls/dishes tend more towards the soup plates of the Chinese variety, approximately 40 cm deep and 22 cm in diameter. These have everted rims of the kind illustrated in figure 30e. Unfortunately the matching bases and rims are not always present and therefore this category suffers from a certain amount of conjecture, based on a limited number of near-complete pieces such as those illustrated.

The mottled specimens in the Parade sample of bowls and dishes are interesting because they may represent a local attempt at decorating these dishes which, on European specimens, are often encountered with slip decoration in an endless variety of designs (De Kleyn 1986: 197-220). Of the dishes in the Parade sample there are also specimens with only the remains of glaze and a slightly dull, lighter finishing on the specimens. Could this represent the remains of some form of slip decoration which has been lost in the ground? Not a single specimen of slip-decorated wares, so popular in Europe during the 17th and 18th centuries, has been found in the local sample of coarse earthenwares.

Next are the pots or basins, comprising 12% of the sample (Fig. 31). The most striking features of these pots are their sizes (approx. 27 cm internal diameter, 34 cm outer rim diameter, 14 cm deep) and their straight rims with an additional projecting lip creating a groove which could securely accommodate a lid. The above features are also seen on the waster described previously. All these pots/basins have incised lines on the outside below the rims. There is evidence of feet on all the specimens with base sections but no obvious indication on the two more green-coloured specimens. The typical handles, two of which are presumably found on each pot, is illustrated in figure 31. One exception is a completely rounded handle attached to a large pot/basin which is decorated with a wavy line and has feet which appear to be slightly higher than the others. Half of the specimens are unfortunately only represented by rim and possibly matching handle parts. None of these large pots have soot attached to them which may indicate their function as large serving pots or basins in contrast with the group of smaller cooking pots or cauldrons.

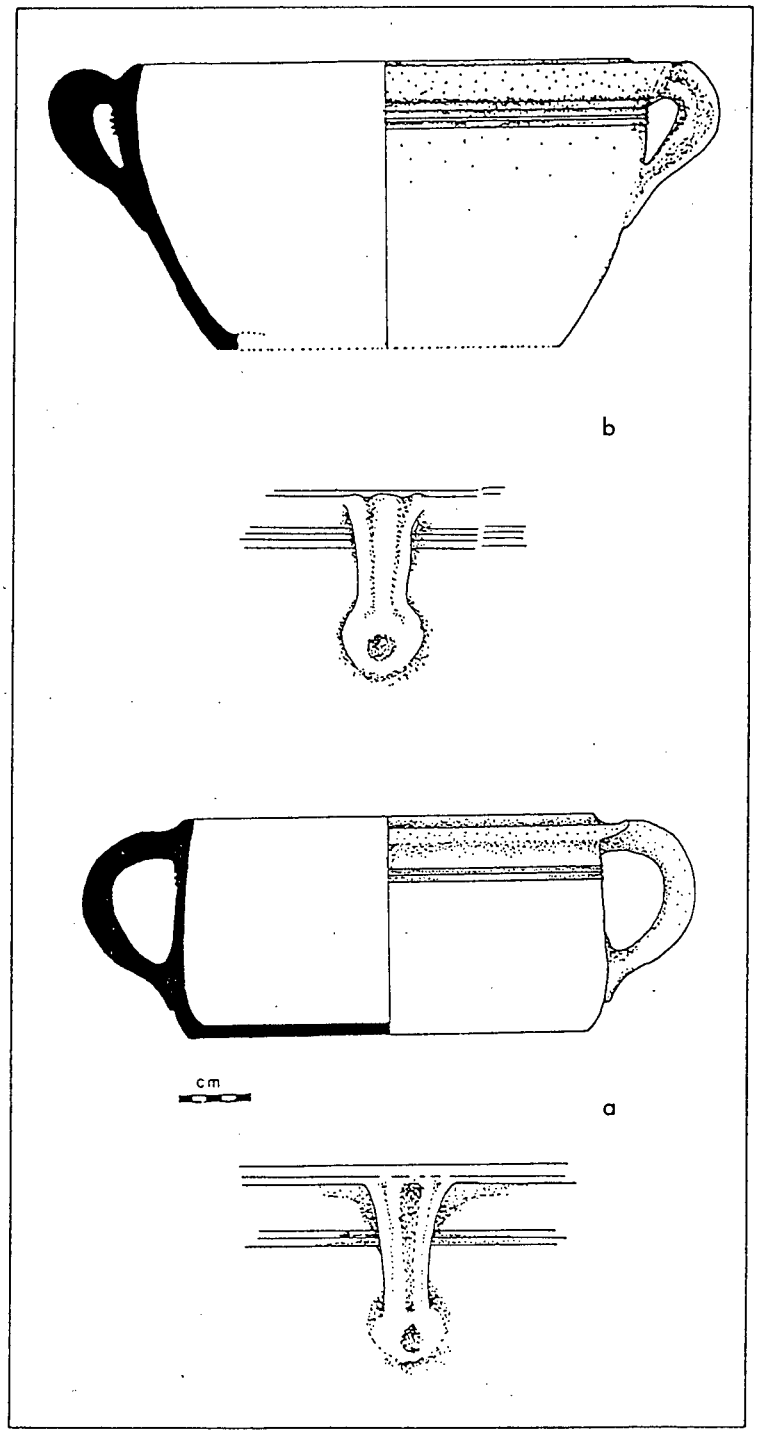


Fig. 31. Large coarse earthenware pots or basins, (a)dark green-glazed with no indication of feet and (b)orange-glazed with two attached handles and missing base.

The next group, in order of frequency, is that of the smaller pots, which could also be jars or beakers (12,5%). One of these specimens in a dark green-brown glaze could be a crucible. It is thickly potted, heavily grogged and has a flat, horizontal rim. It is a little pot of approximately 11 cm diameter and height unknown. The other items are mostly in dark brown or dark green shades. Three of these are little flat-bottomed pots, relatively crudely made (Fig. 32).

Associated with this group, and possibly overlapping in certain cases, are the forms which have been placed under fire-pans (7%). The term fire-pan refers to the Dutch "testje" (De Kleyn 1965: 80-85) which held glowing embers either inside a brazier or on its own at the table for lighting smoking pipes and warming the hands. These fire-pans in the sample consist of a collection of relatively small, low vessel forms of approximately 7 cm in height and 9 cm in diameter. Apart from three items on little feet and with matching handles, as the example in figure 33 illustrates, the rest in this category are anomolies which may be either fire-pans or cups or little pots, all of which were produced alongside each other in the Netherlands during the 17th and 18th centuries (De Kleyn 1986: 108-196).

One of these has a pouring lip like a little jug, but this can also be found on a fire-pan. The handles are mostly plain, small and rounded except one which is pinched, and three with thumb prints, one on the bottom and two on the sides. This category is represented by small vessels and mostly by various rim parts.

The pots/cauldrons (12%) are relatively on a par with the smaller pots/jars/beakers (12,5%) and the larger pots/basins (12,5%) in terms of percentage frequencies. These pots or cauldrons, apart from a few minor differences, are a smaller variety of the larger pots or basins (Fig. 34). Two evident differences are that the pots or cauldrons, wherever the bases are represented, display underside sooting from the open hearth and none of them bears evidence of handles. In addition to this, the three-feet are higher and more pointed perhaps for cooking directly over the fire, and they are thus considered to be examples of tripod cooking pots. Their diameters approximate 21 cm internally, 26 cm on the outer rims and their depths

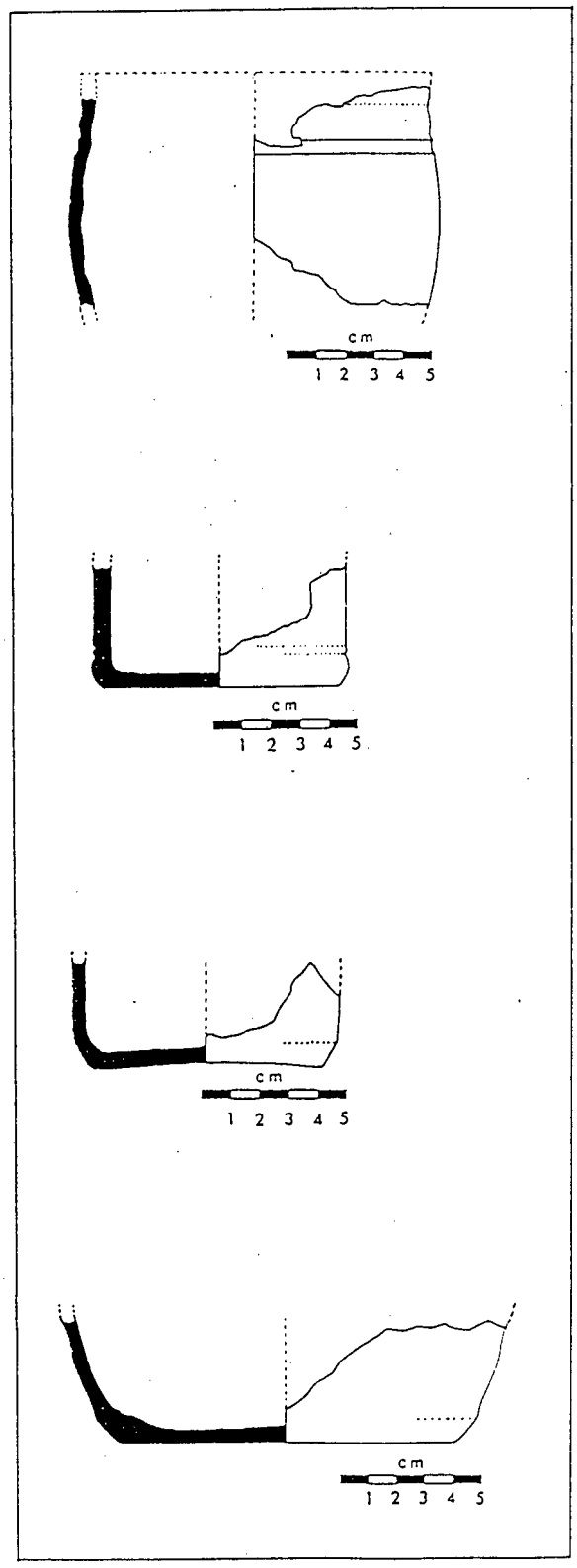


Fig. 32. Coarse earthenware little pots, jars or beakers mostly with flat bottoms and dark brown-green glaze.

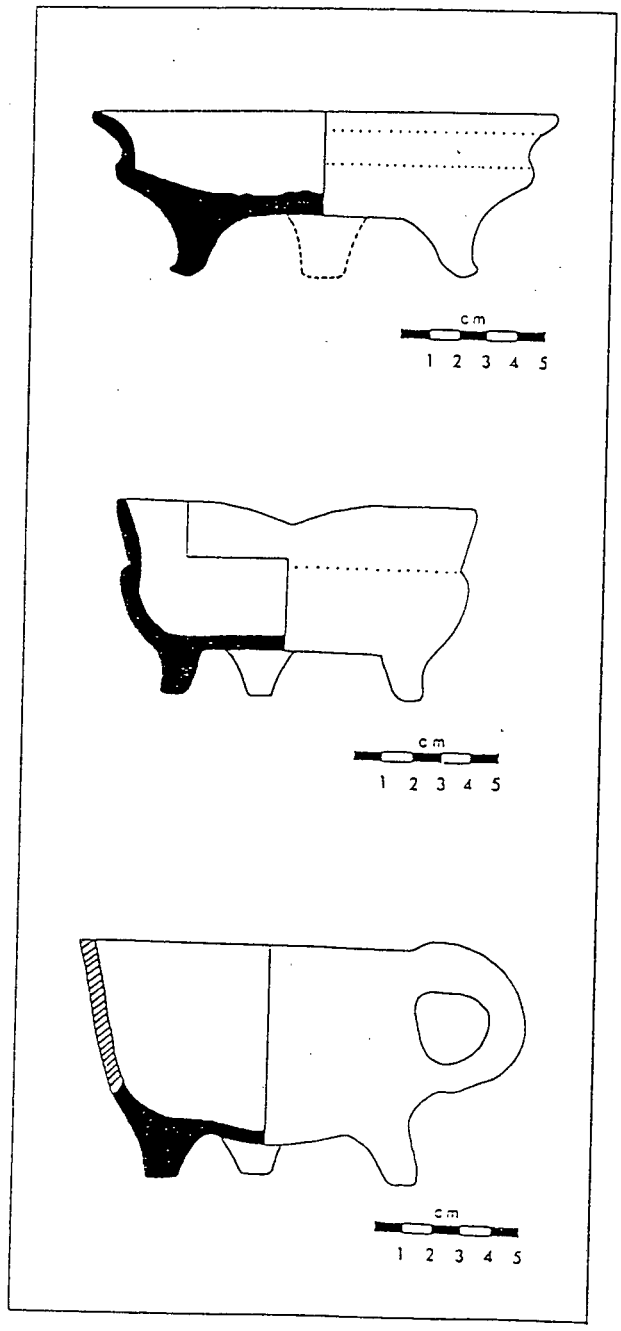


Fig. 33. Little fire-pans in coarse earthenware. The upper one has remains of yellow-orange glaze, the middle one is in a dark green glaze and the lower one is orange-glazed.

measure around 9 cm. Only one specimen has no evidence of feet nor a handle scar, but a matching handle exists. There are seven examples in this category which have a dark brown manganese-type glaze on which it is difficult to see the evidence of soot, possibly glazed in this manner specifically to overcome this problem.

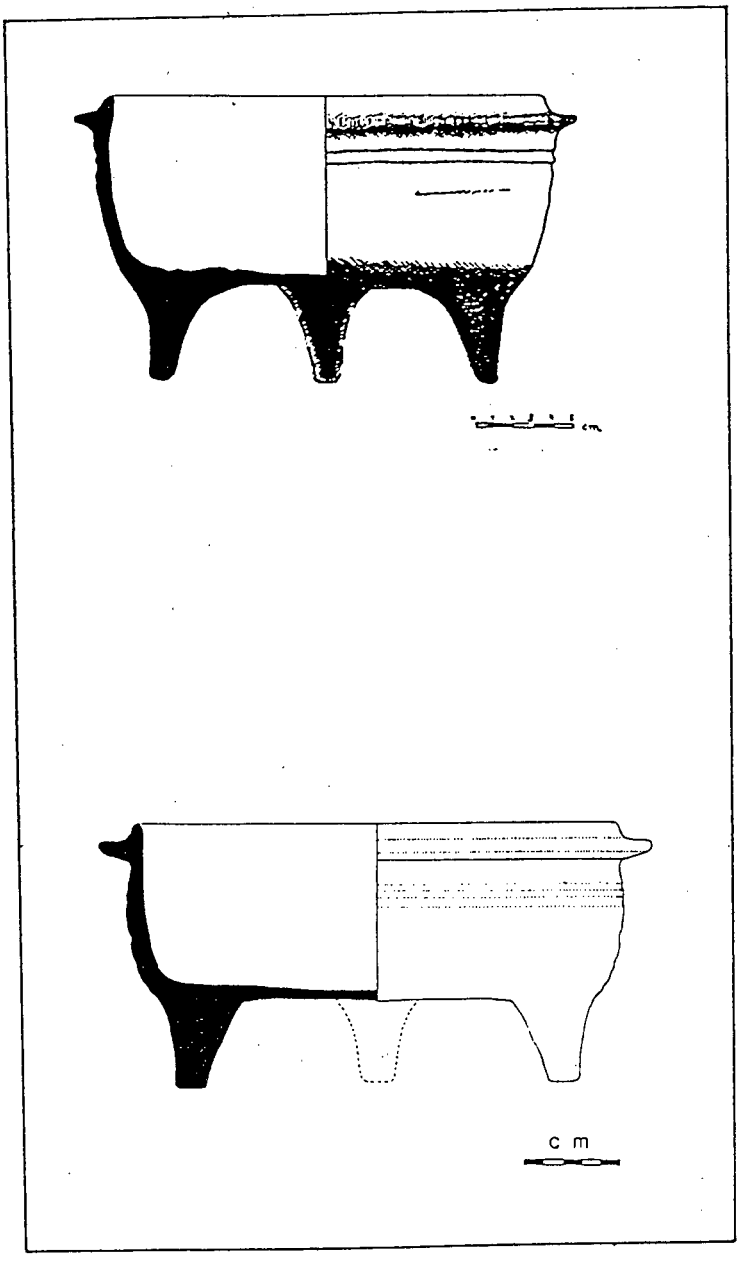


Fig. 34. **Two coarse earthenware tripod cooking pot or cauldrons on high feet, without handles, the upper in a brown-black Manganese-type glaze and the lower in a dark brown-green glaze.**

The following category is that of saucepans or skillets. These are shallower, wider specimens, approximately 18 cm in diameter and with variable depths estimated between 9-12 cm (Fig. 35). They all have matching single handles and one specimen has only a handle scar. A typical handle is illustrated (Fig. 35), grooved at the top and slightly upturned. In most cases they are not thoroughly glazed. Of the seven saucepans or skillets, 2 are glazed in orange and 5 in green. Three feet are found on one of the more complete, illustrated specimens.

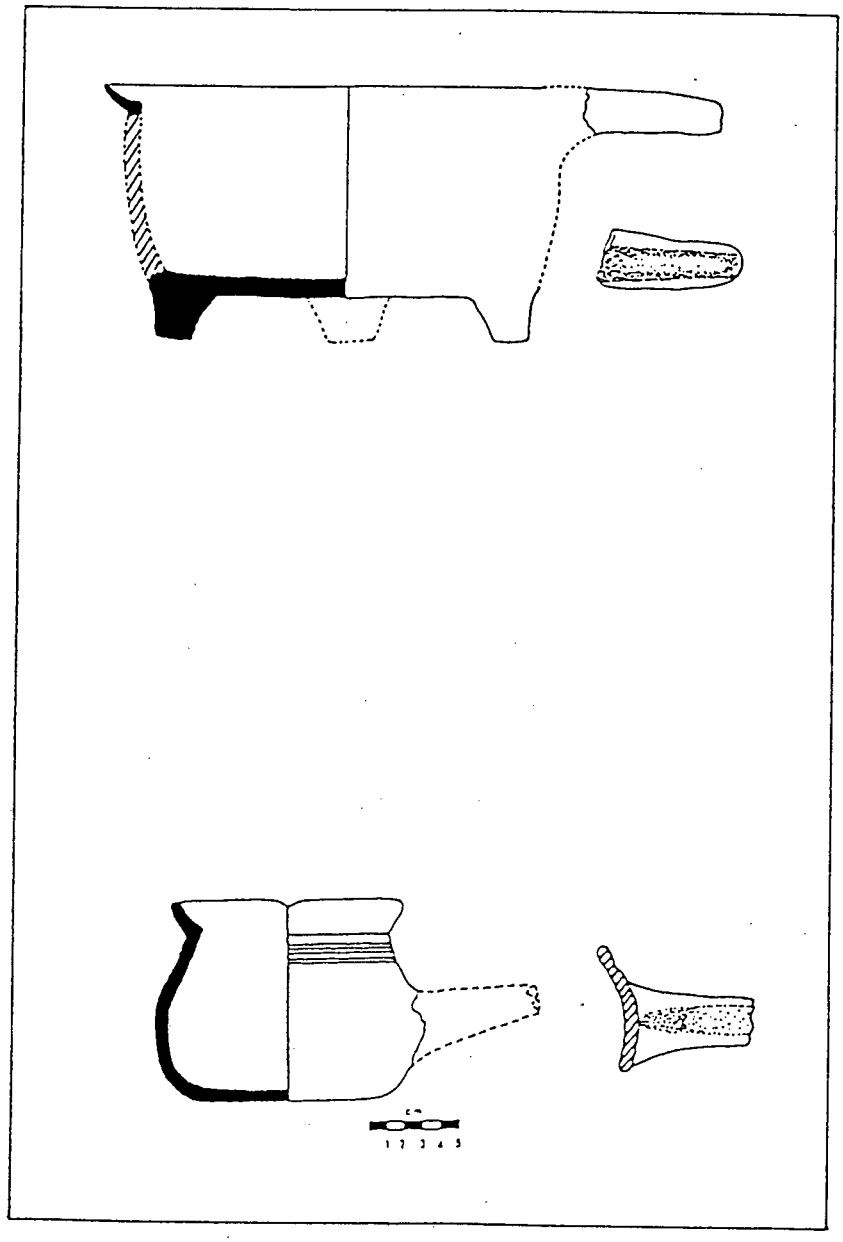


Fig. 35. **Little saucepan and skillet of coarse earthen-ware with matching handles, in orange-green glaze, with and without feet.**

Five colanders, representing 3% of the coarse earthenware, were part of the Parade sample (Fig.36). The Delft buff-bodied green-glazed Dutch 17th century specimen has been previously discussed. The remaining colanders are red-bodied pieces glazed in orange-green, with diameters between 32 - 40 cm. These are probably locally produced items, however with similar dimensions, proportions and rim and lip formations as the imported example. The feet on the locally produced sample appear higher.

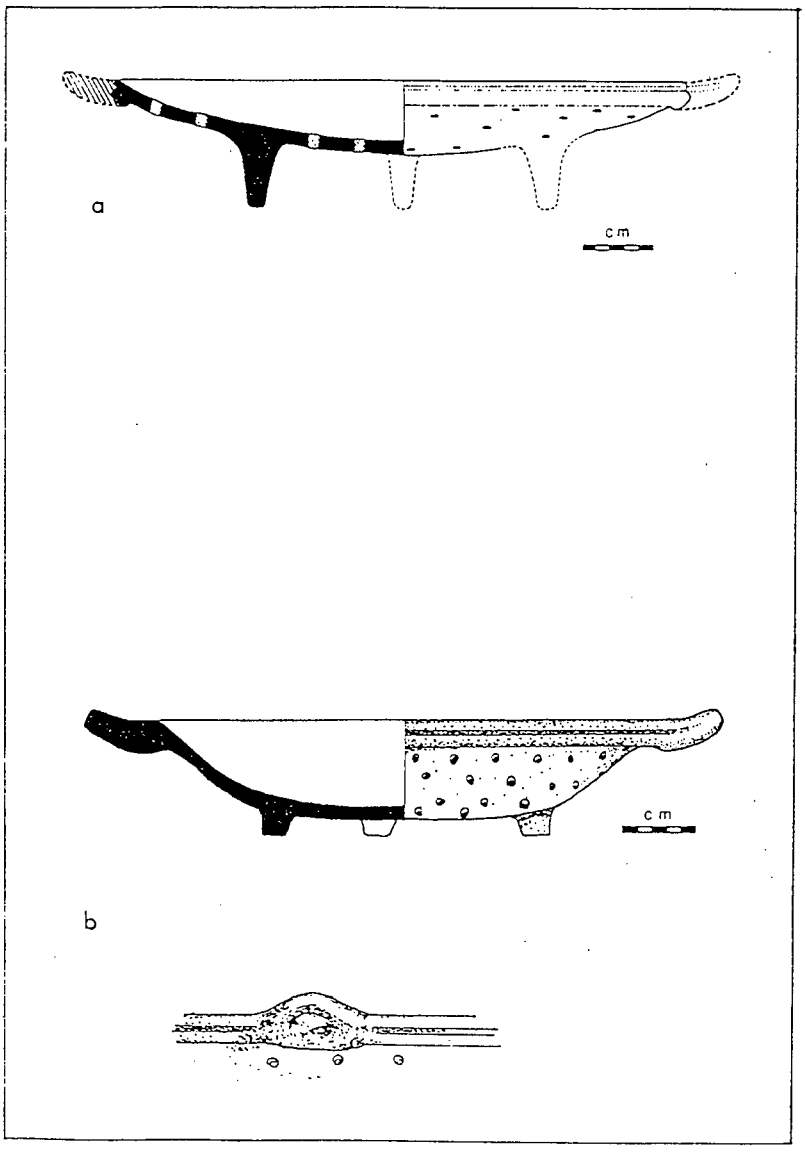


Fig. 36. Colanders in (a) red body with orange glaze, on pointed feet, with reconstructed handles and (b) buff body with green glaze and lower feet, probably Dutch.

There are four saucers (2,5%) in the Parade sample (Fig. 37). Two of these are the previously-mentioned buff-bodied variety with yellow glaze on the outside and inside, one of which stands on a footring. The latter specimen tends towards a little bowl of approximately 3,5 cm depth. The other three are only about 1 or 2 cms deep. Two of these are small, red-bodied saucers with dark brown glaze inside only and flat bases. They are only about 10 cm in diameter and do not have any visible indications, especially since only fragments are represented of the central features possibly associated with lamps or candle-holders, none of which has thus far been identified in the sample.

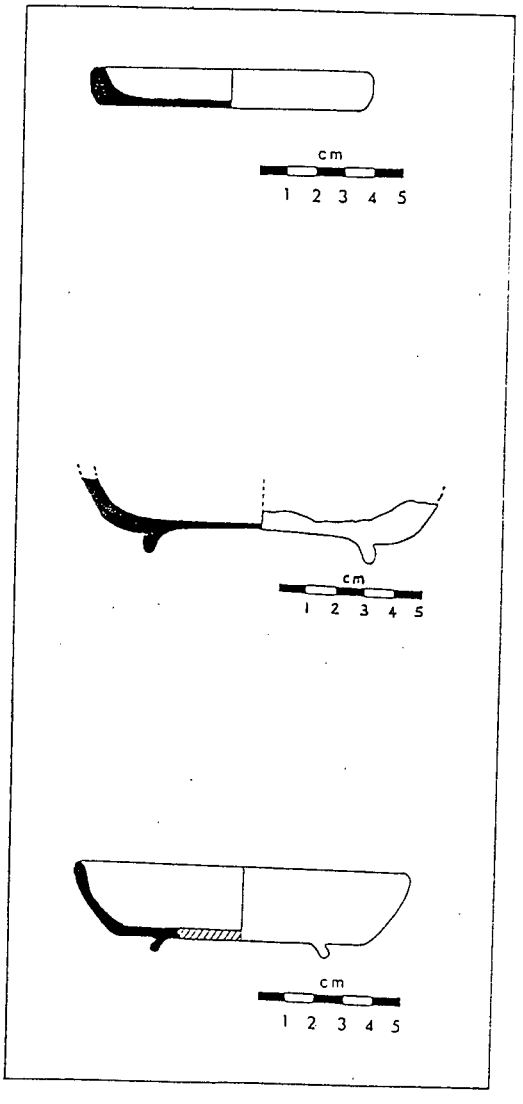


Fig. 37. Coarse earthenware saucers, the middle one in a buff body with yellow glaze and the other two in red bodies with dark brown glaze.

Apart from the previously discussed yellow-green glazed, buff-bodied, possibly Dutch 18th century brazier, two more exist in the sample. The term brazier refers to the Dutch "komfoor" (De Kleyn 1965: 85-89) or the chafing dish (Noël Hume 1985: 309-310) which contained a fire-pan with glowing charcoal for keeping various items of food warm. In an advertisement of 1848 in the Cape of Good Hope Almanac, the term "komfore" is also used in English and Le Roux uses "konfore" on Cape copper examples (1981: 36). The braziers in the sample are represented by orange-red bodied fragments with holes and feet and the remains of glaze on the outside. Three pans are found in the sample (2%). Two of these pans have everted, stepped rims, one with a matching handle, knob foot and possibly around 24 cm in diameter. The other specimen is represented by a large, heavy, hollow handle only and no parts of a matching body.

In a recent report (Olivier 1992: 1-12) on findings of earthenware dating to c.1700 from Sommelsdijk in the Netherlands, the details of the excavated pottery were discussed. These Dutch finds are described as typical of the period and, comparing them with our findings, the following are of interest (Fig. 38). A countless number of dishes was found, most of which were slip-decorated (Fig. 38a). Only one was found to be undecorated. In our sample not a single specimen of the decorated kind has been identified. However, sometimes only a slight indication remains of the worn glaze which could possibly have been slip-decorated. But even this is noticeable in only a few cases. On the whole, the locally excavated sample is represented by plain, undecorated utilitarian items. The Dutch sample includes jugs, none of which were locally excavated. Among the variety of smaller items, jugs are a possibility but no definite reconstructions have been possible. The Dutch sample also includes chamber pots and creamers. These are difficult to separate from cooking pots in the local sample unless the bases are reconstructible. Such is the case of eight pots with evidence of feet out of twelve items in the Parade sample. Two of the remaining four also have a rim construction possibly of chamber pots. There is no evidence of a spout to support the presence of a creamer/cream-jug in the local sample. An illustrated, heavily potted cooking pot with a large, heavy handle coincides with two slightly similar specimens from the Parade site (Fig. 38c).

A brown-green glazed handled-cup with pouring lip from the Sommelsdijk sample resembles the reconstructible remains of three Parade specimens (Fig. 38b). A group of white faience wares included a porridge bowl with a horizontal handle, an ointment pot and a flower pot with holes at the bottom. Only the ointment pot is definitely represented in the Parade sample.

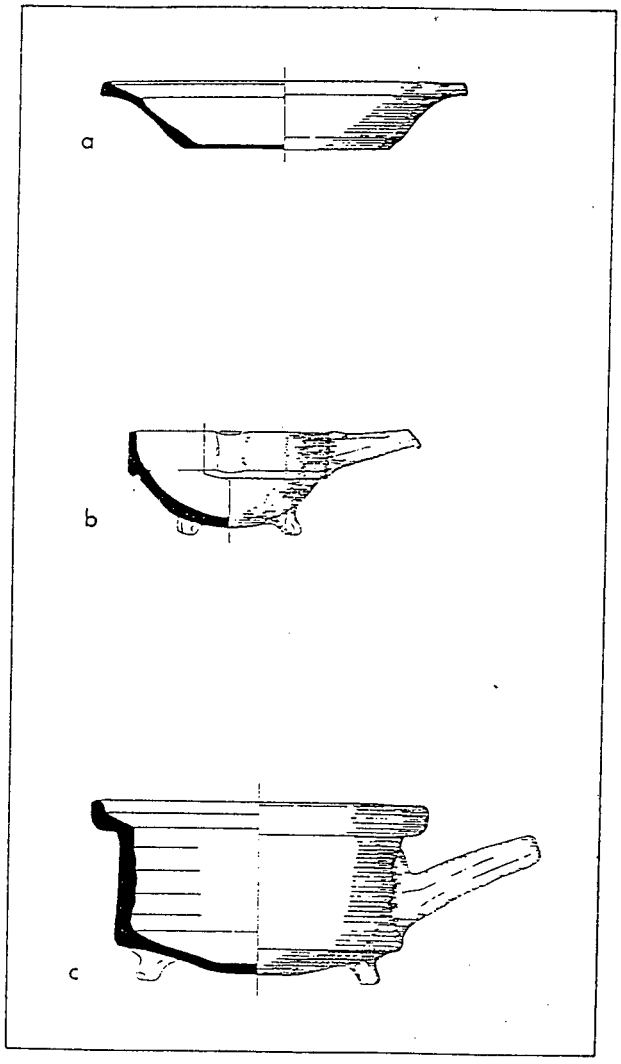


Fig. 38. Compatible coarse earthenware examples of c.1700 from Sommelsdijk, Netherlands (from Olivier, 1992: 8-10) (a) Typical dish with flat base and slip-decorated motif inside, (b) Little saucepan of 7 cm height with a pouring lip and (c) Cooking pot 12,5 cm height and 22,8 cm diameter with heavy, thick handle.

The stoneware

The total ceramic assemblage consists of only 9% stoneware, the lowest when compared with the earthenware (17%) and porcelain (74%). About one quarter (24%) of the stoneware are Oriental and the rest are European (76%) specimens (Table 3.1). The Oriental pieces consist of teapots, bowls, martavans and a few jugs or jars. The European specimens are all represented by pots (probably for storage) and drinking or pouring vessels (Table 3.1). In total, most of the stoneware vessels (72%) were used in pouring or drinking (Table 3.2). The rest of the items consist of pots (18%), teapots (5%), bowls (4%) and one teapot lid (1%).

Stoneware is a type of ceramic which, as its name suggests, is an artificially produced stone at high firing temperatures between. It is colder, harder and generally heavier than earthenware (Woodward 1974: 209). Mostly thickly potted stonewares were made but thinly potted wares, such as the well-known redwares for teapots were also popular. The high temperatures at which stoneware vitrifies precludes the use of lead glazes and hence salt glaze was used. The salt-glazed stoneware pottery of the Rhineland region played a considerable role in export ceramics from the 14th century onwards. These were made at Siegburg, Langerwehe, Raeren, Aachen, Cologne and Frechen (Gaimster 1987: 339-347). This export trade ensured a profitable market with the Netherlands, England, Scandinavia and France and eventually further afield (Charleston 1971: 130). In the 17th century, Rhenish stoneware was the most durable type of ceramic available in Western Europe and was exported in ever-increasing quantities. Within the Parade sample 78 specimens (76%) of the stoneware were identified as Rhenish stoneware and although the stoneware forms only 9% of the total Parade ceramics, it nevertheless supports the interpretation that the high prevalence of this type imported to the Cape during the 17th and 18th centuries. They were probably imported via the Netherlands which had been actively involved in the trade of Rhenish stonewares already since the 15th century.

STONEWARE	Ref	Page	n	Date Range
EUROPEAN				
Frechen-type:				
Bottle/jug, Bartmann, face of bearded man	VL	68;71	1	1600-1650
Bottle/jug, Bartmann-type parts	NH	57	17	1650-1725
Mug/tankard, bases and sherds			7	
Bottle/jug, Bartmann-type, parts of 3 oval medallions	VL	68	2	1600-1650
Westerwald-type:				
Bottle/tankard, with handle scar	N	70	2	1700-1780
Jug/tankard/mug, one with inscised letters and decoration	NH;G	280	16	1700-1750
Bottle, necks and handles	G		2	1650-1750
Jug, bases (late baroque design)	G		2	1650-1750
Jug, face mask on pouring lip, blue inscised decoration	VL;G	69	1	1650-1700
Mug/tankard, floral blue inscised decoration	NH	279	1	1700-1750
Jug/tankard, blue inscised lines at neck	NH	284	1	1700-1750
Jug, rim and sherds			4	
Rhenish:				
Bottle/jug/tankard, bases and one side, cream coloured body and glaze (or British ?)			4	
Jug, large, brown glaze outside, salt glaze inside, inscised bands outside, frilled base (Langerwehe?)	G		1	1600-1700
Other European/German:				
Pot, large, brown glaze, inscised decoration			3	
Pot, brown glaze inside and outside			1	
Pot, brown glaze outside			3	
Pot, brown glaze outside, indistinct medallion			1	
Pot, brown lead glaze outside, salt glaze inside			2	
Pot, one rim, brown glaze			6	
Jug/jar, brown glaze, neck			1	
ORIENTAL			78	(76%)
Redware:				
Teapot, one decorated (embossed), 2 handles, one dark maroon (possibly Yi-hsing ware of the 17th-18th century)	W;J	167;102	5	1650-1750
Lid, half only, small			1	
Brown-glazed:				
Jug/jar, rims and sherds			5	
Bowl, one with foot, two bases			2	
Yellow lead-glazed:				
Martavan, top section near complete, restored, + foot (S. Chinese or Cambodian?)	K		2	1650-1700
Martavan, dark yellow-green glaze, mostly base sections with inscised lines	W	151	1	1700-1750
Celadon-type:				
Bowl, white crackled slip glaze outside, celadon-type glaze inside, with little foot and and rim parts (Kerr: Vietnamese or Thai?)			2	
Jar, as above, with neck and rim			1	
Unglazed:				
Jug/jar, one brown glazed at rim only, one with handle, one rim only (Martavan-type?)			5	
Jug/jar, buff body, thinly potted			1	
TOTAL			25	(24%)
GRAND TOTAL			103	(100%)

Table 3.1 **Parade sample of stoneware types.**

STONEWARE vessel forms	n	%
Jugs/Jars/Bottles/Mugs/Tankards, one with face of bearded man, 3 oval medallions, two with inscised letters and decoration, one face mask on pouring lip, one with frilled base, one celadon-type jar	74	72
Pots, 3 yellow-glazed martavans, 5 unglazed Martavan-type	19	18
Teapots, one embossed, 2 handles	5	5
Bowls, one celadon-type, one with foot	4	4
Lid , of teapot	1	1
	103	100%

Table 3.2 Parade sample, stoneware vessel forms.

One of the types produced was the brown jugs and bottles of the 16th and 17th century with bearded masks, variously referred to as "Bellarmines", "Cologne ware", "Tigerware" "Graybeards" and "Bartmann bottles". Many of these so-called Bartmann bottles have been attributed to kilns in and around Frechen. They are ornamented with a human or semi-human face, with a beard sprig-molded onto the neck of the bottle along with one or more armorial or pseudo-armorial medallions. The earliest moulded masks took the form of satyrs from which the human face, with a pleasing paternal expression, developed in the mid-sixteenth century. By the second quarter of the 17th century the masks were deteriorating and becoming more stylized. The flowing beard was reduced to a series of irregular strokes and the features became crude, reduced to grotesque masks and meaningless medallions by 1650-1670. The rotundity of the earlier bottles became more pear-shaped with disproportionately small bases and heavy cordoning at the neck. The latest date is found on a specimen marked 1699.

These bottles were, however, still made into the first quarter of the 18th century but without bearded masks or medallions though sometimes decorated with incuse chevrons and rosettes (Noël Hume 1985: 55-57; 276-285). The Frenchen-type specimens in the Parade sample are represented by 27 items, one of which has the face of a bearded man. This specimen has been

dated to 1600-1650 and represents the end of the earlier phase, before the masks deteriorated to the more grotesque types. A similar specimen dated to c.1600 is located in the Museum of London (Van Loo 1984: 71). It is one of the earliest specimens in the Parade assemblage and attests to the longevity of these durable items. According to Gaimster (pers comm) these artefacts are often found to have had a long life-span. Their use in the dating of sites is therefore limited and it leads one to wonder what sort of time lag the other ceramics represent. The excavated Frechen-type specimens are all grey-bodied items, certain of which were coated with iron-oxide slip which produced a brown mottled effect in a salt glaze kiln. The medallions require closer scrutiny but they appear to tend more towards pseudo-armorial devices.

It is interesting to note that Bartmann bottles have also been referred to as "witch bottles" (Rushen 1984: 34-36) filled with items such as iron nails, twisted wire, human hair, needles, nail parings and pieces of cloth studded with pins and urine. They were used as anti-witch devices, and they have been unearthed in considerable numbers especially, in East Anglia in the United Kingdom, in a remote part of the country where witchcraft and old beliefs remained strong for a long time. In these contexts, they were found buried mostly under the hearth or doorstep. The first known reference relating to these items used as witch bottles was published in 1671. Bartmann bottles in our collection do not bear any evidence of these practices. Up to now I am not aware of anyone locally investigating this avenue of inquiry or bottles found associated with the custom of witch beliefs.

Of the Rhenish stoneware industry, many of the Westerwald products are recognisable from their grey bodies decorated in cobalt blue made from about 1590 into the 18th century and again revived in the 19th century. It developed around the Hohr-Grenzhausen industry but eventually so many kilns were involved in and outside of this area that the name Westerwald wares is preferred. The earlier specimens were decorated with ornamental friezes which were later abandoned in favour of floral and geometric designs. These were executed through thin sprig-moulding and combed lines with the colours in cobalt blue or manganese purple. By the first quarter of the 18th century decorations were stamped and incised (Noël Hume 1985:

281). In the Parade sample there are 29 specimens of the Westerwald-type (Table 3.1). They are all of a distinctive grey stonewares but only 4 items bear direct evidence of cobalt blue or manganese purple decoration. The first item depicts a face mask in late Baroque design on the pouring lip of part of a jug. One specimen is represented by the neck part of a jug or tankard with blue incised lines and another is decorated with florals in incised lines and a blue coloured body. One fragment shows part of incised letters of which an "S" is included but these are not of the more well-known types bearing the ciphers "AR" (Queen Anne-1702-1714), "GR" (George I-1714-1727 or George II - 1727-1760). It could possibly denote the maker's initials, but this is difficult to say with any certainty.

Apart from the late Baroque-style, masked jug which possibly dates to the late 17th century, the other more common Westerwald items of the 18th century are virtually impossible to date with accuracy (Noël Hume 1985: 282). The so-called reeded-necked jugs, one of which was found in the sample, were decorated with the AR or GR medallions and were exported in large quantities until the Rhineland's virtual monopoly was broken by salt-glazed pottery from Staffordshire in the 1760s. The plain grey wares can also sometimes be attributed to Hohr but the fragmentary condition of the sample and the large portion of missing pieces make further identification difficult. Two specimens with handle scars are present and one bottle neck has a matching handle. The specimens are all parts of bottles, jugs, tankards and possibly mugs. None of the known other exports, such as storage jars, porringers and chamber pots are represented. The sample therefore denotes a reliance on Westerwald stoneware of a specific type, namely pouring and drinking vessels. In sum total (Table 3.2), the stonewares are mostly (72%) represented by jugs, jars, bottles, mugs and tankards.

Within the other European, possibly German, stoneware category, 18 specimens of brown glazed wares were found. One has been identified as part of a large jug with a frilled base of the kind made at Langerwehe during the 17th century (Gaimster pers comm). These were commonly used for storage and were exported on ships. Another specimen is represented by parts of a jug or jar. The remaining 17 specimens are brown pots, one with incised decoration and one with an indistinct medallion. Other specimens are the bases and sides of

cream-coloured bottles, jugs or tankards. There are four specimens of this kind which appear to be distinctly different to the rest. This could represent the first introduction of Staffordshire stonewares. This should be investigated further , but as yet the answer is uncertain and since white stoneware, more thickly potted, is also found in the Rhineland region, these have been listed under Rhenish.

The concept of relief decoration on ceramics was established by the Rhenish potters already in the 16th century. These were detailed quality decorations such as the relief work on the Bartmann bottles. On the other hand, fancy containers were not necessary for the packaging of merchandise such as mineral water bottles. Natural mineral waters were, even in the earliest days of Greece and Rome, considered to have medicinal properties. During the 18th century it became fashionable in Europe to visit mineral springs, to drink from their waters and to bathe in them. Mineral waters were obtainable from most apothecaries, but the transport, export and import of such waters required stronger vessels than the available glass bottles. For this purpose stoneware bottles from the Rhinelands were perfectly suitable. The type produced consisted of a cylindrical body with a short round neck, mostly with a small ear-shaped handle. These were generally produced in the Kannenbackerland of Westerwald including Fachingen, Gerolstein, Gopingen, Mogendorf, Hohr-Grenzhausen, Baumbach and Steinau (Munsey 1970: 101; Nienhaus 1987: 70; Wittop Koning 1975: 853-862). The excavated sample contains 29 Westerwald-type specimens. Four of these are definitely mineral water bottles judging from their necks, body shape, handles and handle scars and there are probably more in the sample which cannot be identified due to their missing body parts. A variety of European spa's were bottling and exporting mineral water from around 1700 onwards and these are represented by a few of the bottles excavated. The mineral water source was stamped on the bottles from the beginning of the 18th century.

Concerning the bulk of our specimens which do not have these stamped marks, it is interesting to note that Nienhaus (1987: 69) refers to the fact that according to a contract of 1755, the producers of the mineral water bottles were obliged to mark each of their products. If this were the case then it is surprising that there is only one marked specimen in the sample of

approximately 29 pieces. It is possible, therefore, that they date mainly to the first half of the 18th century. It has been suggested (Nienhaus 1985: 357-369; 1987: 70) that the production costs on these mineral water bottles required accurate calculation. A more simple, less labour-intensive method of stamping the half-dried bottles developed from the earlier relief-decorated type. This transition occurred around the first decade of the eighteenth century. Our single stamped bottle and the other similar types found in association therefore probably date after this time.

Approximately one quarter of the stoneware is made up of Oriental specimens, five of which are redware teapot parts with one small lid. It has been assumed that these specimens are probably Yi-hsing (I-hsing or Yixing) ware of the 17th or 18th century. These were produced from Ming times onwards, and consist of a variety of brown, red or buff stonewares, mostly unglazed with applied relief work or pierced designs. One of the Parade specimens displays this applied "sprigged" relief-motif. The red stoneware teapots of Yi-hsing were introduced to the West packed in the tea itself in the last quarter of the 17th century, when tea was fast becoming popular in Europe. Arriving together with the early shipments of tea, the two became closely interlinked (Charleston 1971:60; Godden 1974: 94; Woodward 1974: 167). They were noted to resemble the "terra sigillata" of the Romans and the red "buccaro" of Mexico. Inevitably they were imitated at Delft by the 1670s, in Staffordshire from about 1690 and at Meissen from c.1709. Many of these pots are stamped with the makers' marks but these were also sometimes forged (Charleston 1971:136; 260; Fielder 1987:90; Fourest 1980:25; Howard & Ayers 1978: 106; Rontgen 1984:131). No makers' marks are found in the Parade sample. At this point in time it is difficult to identify the Parade samples as Yi-hsing ware with any certainty but there is no reason for this not to be the case since most of the ceramics from the Parade originate from the Orient and Yi-hsing teapots were still imported as private trade on merchant ships such as the *Geldermalsen* (Sheaf & Kilburn 1988 :150).

Also among the Oriental stoneware are five brown glazed jugs or jars and two bowls, of which one shows evidence of feet. Unglazed wares are also found of which one is very thinly potted in buff-bodied clay and five could be of the martavan-type jars. Most martavans such

as those listed in the sample were made in China as well as Siam, Cambodia and Annam (Woodward 1974: 141). The name martavan derived from the Arabian port of Martaban during the Ming period (1369-1644). Martavans were first encountered by the Portuguese in the 16th century and by the Dutch in the 17th century.

To a large extent, the dating of much Chinese earthenware and stoneware is still conjectural (Woodward 1974: 146). The methods of manufacture and forms of decoration at hundreds of potworks outside the main centre were unaffected by the fashions at Ching-tê-Chên . In addition to this, martavans were particularly resistant to change. Archaisation, not innovation, was the norm, especially for certain of these martavans used as containers for the dead. Skilful imitations of old types and traditional types were made from the Ming times into this century and were readily mistaken for the older valuable varieties. Under these circumstances it has been extremely difficult to date accurately the numerous martavans in South African collections. It has also been very difficult to isolate the pots which arrived here during the Dutch East India Company period from those which have been more recently imported.

One of the solutions proposed by Woodward is the evidence of archaeological specimens from dated contexts. Two of the Parade specimens were dated to the 17th century. These are yellow-glazed , adequately referred to as "straw yellow" (Woodward 1974: 143). They show evidence of a typical row of loop-handles, little handles of the chorded-type, placed horizontally at the shoulder (Fig. 39). The glaze has been roughly poured over the lip and ends like candle wax on the inside. One of the other specimens if of a coarser variety of which mainly the typical flat base parts with an unprofiled foot have survived. As on other Martavan examples, the glaze has stopped short on the outside and left the lower portion of the wall and base uncovered. The inside is covered with a dark yellow-green glaze. This specimen can only be dated through association with other artefacts from the late 17th to the late 18th century.

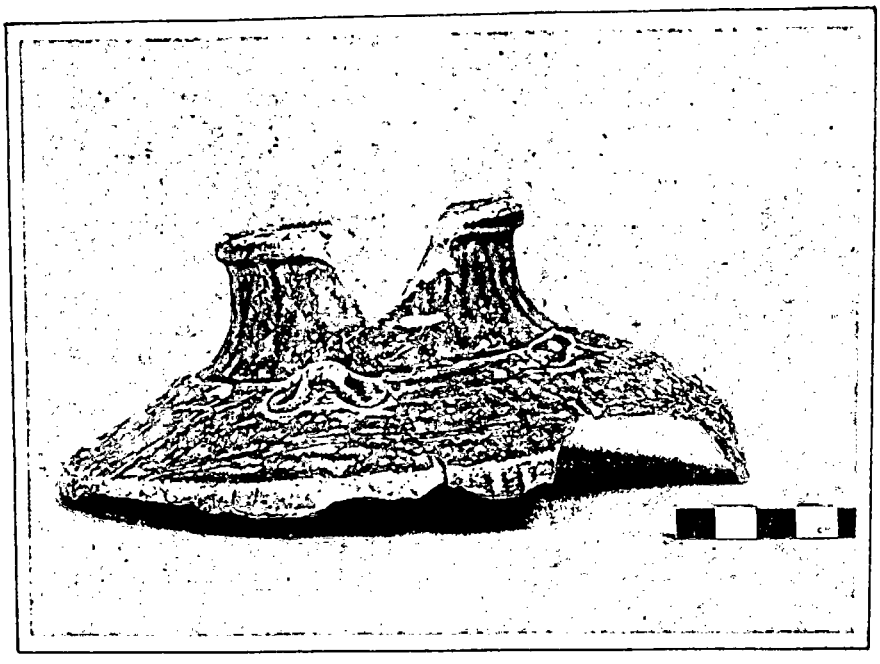


Fig. 39. **Upper section of Oriental yellow lead-glazed stoneware martavan with little loop or chorded handles.**

In the 17th century nearly all Martavans handled by the Company were shipped from Pegu, now Lower Burma, (Woodward 1974: 143). They were then mostly used in the cargo of rice ships between Batavia and Pegu. They were also shipped with water, oil, butter, opium and pickles. Although much in demand, Volker notes (1954: 221) that there was an acute shortage brought about by the troubles in mainland China. In 1673, even as few as six pots could not be supplied to the Sultan of Bantam. In a memorial by Pieter van Dam he emphasizes how limited the Company's selection of martavans was even though it was Company practice to keep three sizes in stock (Woodward 1974: 143). He observed only one size, assessed by Woodward as the very large type resembling the giant black pots of Portuguese description.

The 18th century trade of martavans is as yet unchartered. Volker's records end in 1682 and no other published information has been found (Woodward 1974: 144). Inventories rarely mention martavans and those which do, belong to the first half of the 18th century. In the later records they disappear almost completely. They are referred to as martavans and the larger

pots are usually qualified by the word "grote"(large). The others appear as "voorraadpotten" (storage pots) or simply "potten" (pots). Among the excavated specimens there are seven nondescript samples (Table 3.1) and one with glazing around the rim only. These more than likely belong to this category of Chinese storage pots. The archaeological evidence presented here indicates an 18% factor within the stoneware category; that is, 19 out of 103 vessels (Table 3.2). This seems to support both Volker and Woodward's suspicions based on the available records. Certainly, that there are only two specimens of the 17th century suggests a dire shortage of these vessels at the Cape, contrary to the picture so often painted in the local collections. Woodward correctly points out that "as the old have entered along with the new the picture today can only be an imperfect guide to the pots actually in use here during the Company period" (1974: 144).

Chinese celadon wares are among the best known and most admired export ceramics. They consist of stoneware bodies covered with glaze in bluish-green to grey-green. The earliest celadons, dating back to the T'ang dynasty (608-906) and earlier, were mainly exported to the Near East. The largest export group were made in the Sung (906-1279), Yuan (1280-1367) and Ming (1368-1643) dynasties in the province of Chekiang. Towards the end of the Ming dynasty the celadon wares declined in quality and production and they were eventually replaced by blue and white porcelain (Lunsingh Scheurleer 1974: 42). Three specimens of relatively fine, delicately potted stoneware were found in the Parade sample. These were difficult to identify but most experts agreed that they were not from Europe. They are covered with a white crackled slip glaze outside and a greenish celadon-type glaze on the inside. Two bowls and one jar are represented. The bowls appear to have had dainty little feet. It is interesting to note that Kerr (pers comm) identified these as possibly Vietnamese or Thai. Chinese celadons are known to have been copied in Tonkin, Thailand and Annam (Lunsingh Scheurleer 1974: 42). These wares, as may be the case with the Parade specimens, were treasured and passed down from generation to generation. Their fine quality and delicate finish make them perceptibly different from all the other stoneware, well-worthy of being valued.

White, cream and red European earthenware

The other earthenwares (Table 4.1), in contrast to the coarse earthenware in this assemblage, consist of tin-glazed wares (55%), creamware (17%), whitewares (8%), other redware (8%), salt-glazed wares (6%), refined whiteware (3%) and pearlware (3%). They are all of European origin. The tin-glazed wares are made up of 20 items, 10 of which are plates, 3 dishes and 7 jars or pots. They are all cream-bodied and a few in a more pinkish range. Three specimens are considered as Netherlandish and seven items of French origin. Three items could possibly date to the 17th century and the rest to the 18th century. The creamware consists of six items; four saucers, one plate and one bowl. They are all dated to the 2nd half of the 18th century. Four refined whiteware saucers are represented, three redware items including a teapot, a saucer and a dish. Only two items of salt-glaze are represented, being either chamber pots or jugs. One little pearlware bowl was found in the Parade sample.

Tin glazed wares consist of cream-coloured earthenware bodies coated with lead glaze containing oxide of tin which turns to opaque white generally known as tin-enamel. This enamel could be decorated in colours such as cobalt blue, manganese purple, copper green, antimony yellow and iron-rust orange before firing. Sometimes a second clear glaze (kwaart) was applied over the tin glaze on high-temperature blue painting for a more brilliant porcellaneous glaze. Tin-glaxed wares, in this study, encompass Italian "maiolica" (after the Balearic island of Majorca), French and German "faience" (after Faenza, one of the most important centres for this industry), English and Dutch "delft" (after the famous Dutch prototypes at Delft) and "galley ware" (possibly referring to the galleys on which this tin-glazed wares were imported from the Mediterranean).

Tin-glazed wares were used in the Middle East from the 9th century AD, in Spain and Italy around the 13th century, in France and Holland during the 15th century and in England from the 16th century (Cushion 1976:52; De Jonge 1970:9; Fourest 1980:7-10; Godden 1974: 34-35; Noël Hume 1985:106-109; Heukensfeldt Jansen 1961:3-5; Woodward 1974:210 Draper 1984:25-32). Most tin-glazed wares were used at the dinner table or on the sideboard.

OTHER EARTHENWARE EUROPEAN	Ref	Page	n	Date Range
Tin-glazed:				
Plate, plain white, near complete (Netherlandish ?)	G		1	1650-1780
Plate, plain white, with blue decoration (Netherlandish ?)	G		3	1700-1780
Plate, plain white tin glaze with pinkish tinge, one with shell-like edge (French Rouen ?)	NH	142-143	3	1750-1780
Plate, cream body, white tin glaze with blue tinge, pale blue stripe around rim (French ?)	NH	142	1	c1750
Dish/platter, cream bodied, white crackled glaze ontop with band of blue hatching, back with brown lead/glaze (French Rouen)	NH:H	141	1	c1755
Dish/platter, one with pinkish body, white crackled glaze ontop and underneath, one with blue decoration in band ontop (French Rouen ?)	NH:H	141	2	c1755
Plate, white with polychrome	G		2	1700-1780
Jar/drug pot, plain white	NH	205	3	1700-1780
Jar/drug pot, plain white	NH	205	1	1640-1690
Jar/drug pot, white with glaze blue, green, red and overglaze iron and antimony yellow enamels (Crawford, c1750 ?)	NH	207	1	c1720
Jar/pot, plain white with blue tinge body	NH	204	1	1755-1780
Jar/drug pot, larger variety, plain white shoulder portion	NH	207	1	1720-1750
			20	(55%)
Ceamware:				
Saucer, undecorated except moulded, pressed dots on one	A		3	c1790
Plate, undecorated	GO	141	1	1760-1790
Saucer, strainer, undecorated	GO	141	1	1760-1790
Bowl, small, tortoise-shell/mottled brown (Whieldon-type ?) (Noël Hume, 1985: 123)	G:D		1	1750-1775
			6	(17%)
Refined whiteware:				
Saucer, crackled glaze, ghost pattern on two, slight moulding on other (later 18th century ?)			3	
Saucer, hand-painted blue & white floral centre, lead glaze, (Whieldon-type ?)	A		1	c1770
			4	(11%)
Redware:				
Teapot, red body, with lead glaze			1	
Saucer, finely potted, rim section with inscised lines			1	
Dish, thicker red body, white slip with copper green over the slip, all under lead glaze, one little matching foot (Wanfried/Hessian ?)	NH	139	1	1600-1650
			3	(8%)
Salt-glazed:				
Chamber pot/jug, 2 plain strapped handles (Godden, 1974: 79; 83; 85, c1750)	NH	147	2	c1730
			2	(6%)
Pearlware:				
Bowl, hand-painted blue & white dots & circles	A		1	c1790
			1	(3%)
GRAND TOTAL			36	(100%)

Table 4.1 **Parade sample of other cream, white and red European earthenware.**

These included, among others, plates, bowls, bottles, mugs, porringers, salt cellars, vases, candleholders and many other ornamental pieces. The ornately decorated larger dishes called chargers probably served a purely decorative function. None of these, nor the popular "peasant delft" or "Boerendelftsch" of cheaper quality (Fourest 1980:150), have been found in the Parade sample. Tin-glazed ware lends itself to painting and although these vessels were decorated in blue or polychrome right from the start, a large proportion of this ware was plain. In the sample, 12 out of 20 specimens are plain and the others are mainly blue and white. These include a variety of possibly French Rouen types.

A fragment of a faience dish is represented in the Parade sample (Fig. 40). It is cream-bodied with a white crackled glaze at the top. A decorated band of blue hatching outlined in black is found on the rim. The back of the dish is coated in a brown lead glaze. According to Noël Hume this type has been found on French sites before 1755 (Noël Hume 1985:141). Two related French faience fragments of dishes or platters with white crackled glaze on top and underneath were found. One of these has blue decoration in a band at the top of the rim and a pinkish body. Noël Hume points out that the dating of French pottery is extremely sketchy. One of the types which appear to turn up on mid-18th century French-connected sites are plain white plates decorated around the rims with a single stripe in pale blue. One of these is also represented in the Parade assemblage.

The later dishes in plain wares were frequently found to have a pinkish tinge in the glaze (Noël Hume 1985: 142). In the Parade sample three plain white plates occur with a pinkish tinge and one with a shell-like edge. These have been allocated to a later date, namely 1750-1780. Three plates with blue decoration have been suggested to resemble Netherlandish specimens of the 18th century and one plain white specimen, near complete also Netherlandish, is dated to 1650-1780. Huey suggests that this is more likely to be of the 18th century (pers comm).

Jars or small and larger drug pots are often encountered in archaeological finds of the 17th and 18th centuries. These ranged from the larger jars for storage to miniature versions in which salves and elixirs were sold. They were mostly cylindrical in form and constricted above

the base and below the rims. They are found in plain white and polychrome- decorated types. In the Parade assemblage, only one polychrome-decorated specimen has been identified. It is white with underglaze blue, green, red and overglaze iron and antimony yellow enamels, dated to c.1720. The other six jars drug pots are plain white.

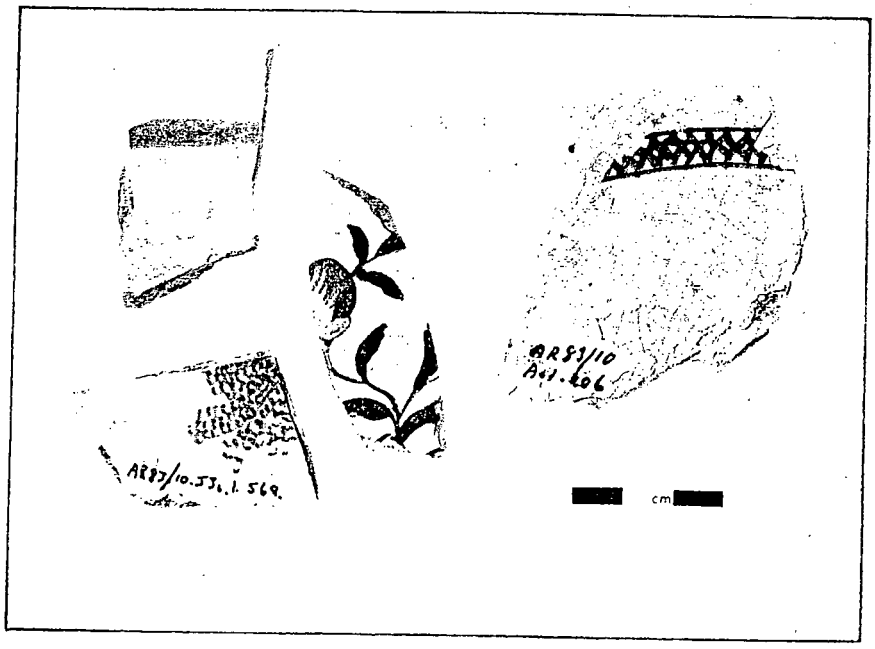


Fig. 40. **European cream-bodied tin-glazed earthenwares, dish or platter with blue hatching and black border-lines on French Rouen on the right, polychrome-decorated jar or drug pot in the middle and underglaze blue decorated wares on the left.**

By the mid-17th century the time-consuming and costly practice of decorating the small ointment pots had ceased and plain white ones, as in the Parade sample, were made in ever-increasing numbers. However, on the point of the decorated example, two new forms occurred in the 3rd quarter of the 17th century. These were apothecary's storage jars for dry compounds and the other for liquids. The Parade decorated specimen (Fig. 40) could therefore have been one of these drug jars which was still decorated, dated examples of which are still found up to around 1763. After this there is a sharp decline during which time creamware jars started appearing on the apothecaries' shelves (Noël Hume 1985: 207). Two notes of caution are raised by Noël Hume. Firstly, although originally intended for apothecaries, numerous other contexts denoting these jars are also shown in paintings.

Secondly, the numerous carved plain white body fragments found on excavations could also be from flower vases or standing salts.

One additional item of the apothecary's equipment was a pill tile or slab for mixing and rolling ingredients (Noël Hume 1985: 209). In the Parade sample there are a few white tin-glazed tiles but these are not included in this study. However, suffice it to say that they are represented but their use in this context cannot be ascertained. One flat fragment, decorated in blue over the tin-glaze ontop and without glaze at the bottom, may represent this type of pill tile or slab but since it is only a fragment, one cannot be absolutely sure. Surviving examples in blue and polychrome have been identified and it is likely that plain white delftware tiles were also used.

The development of items of salt-glazed wares, creamware and pealware in the sample all have a bearing on one another. The salt-glazed ware referred to here are those with a refined whitish body and delicate form in contrast to the stoneware types previously discussed. These white salt-glazed wares are difficult to attribute to any one potter or factory since none of them bear makers' marks. In essence however the standard white salt glazed ware, surface-coated with a slip, was introduced around 1710 at Staffordshire. Slightly later calcined flints were added to the body and the terms "flint-ware" and "flint-potters" are sometimes encountered. These Staffordshire salt-glazed wares enjoyed some sixty years of popularity, from around 1720-1780, by which time they were superseded by creamware (Godden 1974:72; Mountford 1971:XVII-16; Noël Hume 1985:114-120).

In the Parade sample, however, this salt-glazed ware is represented by only two specimens- two plain strapped handles of chamber pots or jugs dated around 1730-1750. If these were chamber pots, they were probably plain but jugs in this type were sometimes pressed-moulded or cast and then decorated by sprigging on relief motifs in a different colour clay, by inscising designs in scratch-blue (inscising and then filling these with blue pigment) or decorated with enamel colours. It is impossible to say how the specimens in this sample were decorated from only the remaining handles. The salt-glazed wares were generally small and of a utilitarian

nature in a large variety of shapes such as moulded dishes, sauceboats, jugs, bowls, candlesticks, ornaments and more rarely, cups and saucers.

It is interesting that Godden notes (1974: 72) the nature of these salt-glazed wares as typically English, catering for the needs of the vast middle-class population during the period in which they were in vogue, while the poorer families used coarser earthenware and the richer relied on Oriental imports until around the mid-1740s. This situation does not appear to bear any relevance to the Cape during the 18th century.

The refined cream-coloured earthenware fired at lower temperature and coated with lead glaze was referred to as creamware or "Queen's ware" (in its plain version). It made its impact all over Europe when it was first introduced around 1740 and by 1760 had become the standard English pottery in production. At the Cape, this was certainly not the case. Its impact appears to have been minimal, only six items represented in the sample of 1135 specimens. It furthermore did not oust the tin-glazed earthenware tradition, as it did in Europe. The size of the local sample of creamware and tin-glazed wares (especially the French Rouen specimens) of the second half of the 18th century are practically the same. At the Cape the main competing factor for both these types was the Chinese porcelain. This was also the case with the salt-glazed wares. Before 1760 salt-glazed wares were still markedly similar to the creamwares, sometimes sharing production in the same factories and the same moulds. However, by 1760, creamwares superseded all other production in England. They were light in weight, thin - gauged and had a smoother lead-glazed surface. They were easily transported and built up a flourishing export market. The Cape, however, had obviously become accustomed to the privilege of Chinese porcelain and preferred these to creamwares even though these were later decorated in underglaze blue in the popular Oriental fashion (Draper 1984:32; Godden 1974:140-141; Kybalova 1989:8-25; Lockett et al 1989:4-52; Towner 1978:19-22).

The fragments of creamware found in the Parade sample are mostly saucers in plain cream moulded forms of the type commonly found in the second half of the 18th century (Fig. 41).

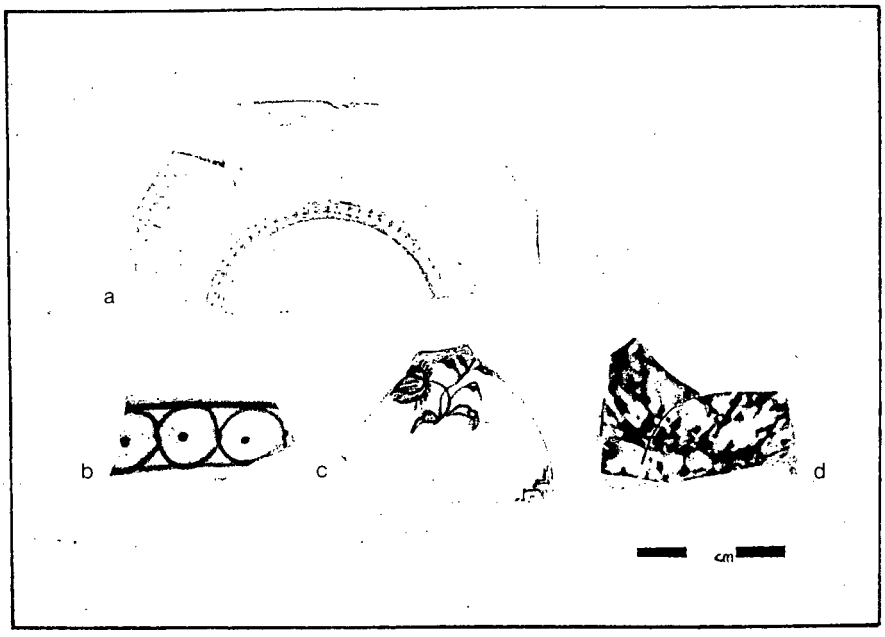


Fig. 41. **A small variety of other European earthenwares, (a) a creamware saucer (b) a little pearlware bowl rim (c) under-glaze hand-painted blue on whiteware and d) a fragment of a little tortoise-shell bowl.**

One of these is an undecorated strainer in a saucer-shape. An undecorated plate is represented and one small bowl or deep saucer with the brown tortoise-shell or mottled design related to the Whieldon-type earthenware of the third quarter of the 18th century. The creamware input in this instance is therefore minimal.

Creamwares, in turn, gave way to pearlware. Pearlware was introduced around 1779 by Josiah Wedgewood who called it pearl white. Its contemporary name from the 1780s into the 19th century, was "china-glazed" earthenware (Godden 1974:141; Lockett et al 1989:9-44; Noël Hume 1985:129-133; Sussman 1977:105-111). The light cream-white fabric had an increased flint content which resulted in a whiter appearance accentuated by a slightly blue glaze (cobalt added) in combination with blue-painted decoration. Pearlware may be distinguished from the later creamware by the pooling of the glaze in crevices which appear blue on pearlware and yellow or green on creamware. Pearlware was on its way out by the

1820s. The single specimen found in the Parade sample, a bowl decorated in blue hand-painted dots and circles around the outer rim, is an earlier specimen dated to c.1790. It falls within the tail-end of this sample and is therefore possibly a poorly represented case of a very popular type (Fig. 41). This will be discussed in more detail in the following chapter.

The four items of refined white earthenware in the sample are of interest in that they are dated by association to the later 18th century. The one specimen, (Fig. 41), an underglaze blue-and-white floral hand-painted saucer, has been dated to c.1770 by Archer (pers comm) and considered as possibly of the Whieldon-type. Three other saucers have crackled glazing, one with a slightly moulded surface and two with ghost patterns of what was once in overglaze decoration. These four items are very definitely whiteware and do not have the cream body or tinted glazes associated with creamware and pearlware, but appear within a later 18th century context. This lends emphasis to the difficulty of attempting to draw a dividing line between creamware, pearlware and whiteware, a problem often encountered in this field of ceramics (Lockett 1989:49).

The last remaining category of other European earthenware is redware represented, by only three specimens in this case. These are three odd items which do not fit into any other category; one red teapot with lead glaze, one saucer, finely potted and buffed with incised lines around the inner rim and a thickly potted dish. The latter is covered with white slip and copper green over this, all, in turn, covered with lead glaze. It has one little matching foot and this piece is probably of the type referred to as Wanfried or Hessian by Noël Hume (1985: 139) and possibly dating to the first half of the 17th century. Variations along these lines are also found of French or Italian origin. All the above redwares are represented by single specimens and probably occurred only occasionally at the Cape.

Summary of ceramic findings

The main ceramic categories found, in order of frequency, were Oriental porcelain, locally produced earthenware, European stoneware and other European earthenwares. Underglaze blue was the most popular Oriental porcelain at the Cape during the 17th and 18th century. The archaeological data supports the significance of coarse porcelain at the Cape. Another favourite was polychrome wares. The remaining brown-glazed wares, plain white, Japanese and European porcelain were among the less favoured.

The porcelain assemblage is apportioned into approximately one third plates, one third bowls and one third smaller bowls and saucers. Less than one tenth is comprised of other items such as a statue, spittoon, chamber pot, sauce-boat etc. Serving dishes, platters and pots or tureens, which are mostly absent in the finer porcelain, may be accounted for by the number of dishes and serving pots or basins found in the coarse porcelain and coarse earthenware part of the assemblage.

The majority of the porcelain dates to the mid-18th century and comparison with a typical East India load from the *Geldermalsen* which was wrecked in 1752, produced some interesting findings. Tureens, salt cellars and candle sticks are conspicuously absent. The Parade sample also shows a great deal more variety in design and has a more equitable distribution in plates, larger bowls and teaware. The Cape sample shows more emphasis on bowls and particularly the coarse porcelain types which are relatively unrepresented in Europe but which are the second most prolific category of porcelain at the Cape. Teaware ranked highest in the European porcelain order but locally it was placed on par with meal occasions. However, most of the locally excavated polychromes are devoted to teaware. Items of private cargo were equally few and teaware accessories such as sugar-bowls and tea caddies are absent in both cases.

The dating and identification of coarse porcelain is still problematic but the Cape could make a substantial contribution to this field of research. Various experts have pointed to Swatow,

Vietnam/Annam, Tongking and Dehau as possible areas related to the production of the coarse porcelain in the sample. Coarse porcelain from North China and Japan have also been mentioned in this connection. It has been shown that the VOC purchased its first large shipment of Tongkinese coarse porcelain bowls as a make-shift during the shortage of Chinese articles in 1663. The evidence suggests the importation of large numbers into the 18th century, also supported by the *Geldermalsen* load. Most of the specimens in the sample are bowls and dishes. They are heavily potted and resemble stoneware in many ways. The decoration is less formal than other typical export porcelain and tends more towards the folk-style decorated slipwares in vogue in Europe at the time, none of which have been identified in this assemblage except the Wanfried/Hessian specimen of the early 17th century. While stoneware of a high quality was readily available to Europeans, Oriental porcelain was less so. The Cape was in a mid-way position between the two and may have opted for this coarse porcelain to fulfill its stoneware requirements as well as its lack of decorated pottery.

The polychrome enamels were predominantly dated between 1740-1780, at least ten years after they first became popular in Europe. Most of the items of private cargo were found to be in polychrome and saucers and tea-bowls in polychrome appear to have been as fashionable at the Cape as it was in Europe.

The bulk of the brown-glazed wares in the sample consists of bowls and unmatching saucers, for the most part dated to the mid-18th century. Heavily potted wares of this kind also occur and may have been used in less genteel contexts of commercial establishments. There are many contrasting opinions about the significance and dating of these wares ranging from the Ming to the 18th century and more work is certainly required in this area of porcelain studies. From the available evidence, however, they appear to prosper between 1740-1780 at the Cape and this is also suggested by Noël Hume (1985: 260).

Plain white porcelain, Japanese and European porcelain are lowest in the archaeological porcelain count. These appear as rarely as they are mentioned in the records. The Company plates, sometimes accompanied by the VOC monogram, were also used at the Cape as they

were at other outer offices and these are among the earliest porcelain in the sample and of the pieces directly associated with the VOC. They are, however, relatively few in number. European porcelain had a negligible effect on the local porcelain consumption, over-shadowed by the Oriental specimens which they were trying to emulate.

A number of pieces, including the vast quantity of coarse porcelain and items with Arabic script, have been related to East India (inter-Asiatic) markets. This is an interesting aspect which should be investigated since the influence of Eastern cultures at the Cape is an important facet, particularly when linked with the Cape cuisine and probably its related kitchenwares.

The Oriental stoneware ties in with the custom of tea-drinking and so one presumes that in true vogue, the tea itself and fashionably-correct Yi-hsing stoneware teapots were all imported from the East and used together with Oriental porcelain tea bowls and saucers. The demand for Yi-hsing teapots arose from its close association with the introduction of the tea itself into Europe and probably the belief that the best tea was served from such pots.

Generally, however, the imported stonewares are mostly of European origin centered around the Rhenish industry of Frechen and Westerwald. Most of these are drinking and pouring vessels as well as storage pots of both the 17th and 18th century. Certain of the earliest specimens in the sample are parts of Bartmann bottles of the early 17th century which attests to the popularity and longevity of these items. Their long life-span, indicated by the earliest Bartmann bottle in the sample, should serve to remind us of the caution with which these specimens should be used for dating sites. This item may have been 50 years old or more before it was deposited on the site. The durability and consequent time lag represented by these specimens is something which should always be taken into account when using this type of artefact for dating purposes.

The German stoneware industry of the 17th and 18th centuries is well known for its success in the market place and the Cape consumed its share of this successful product. Coupled with

this is the influence of a large number of German immigrants who, no doubt, exercised their taste on imported goods. At the Cape the fashion and belief in mineral waters is evidenced by their importation from the Westerwald region in Europe in the 18th century. A later local development of this fashion is witnessed by the large-scale production of mineral water and soda water at Albion Springs in Cape Town in the 19th century (Lastovica 1982).

The coarse earthenware consists mainly of European-style pottery of which most was probably locally produced. A small number of buff-bodied wares with a distinctive yellow lead glaze are considered as likely imports and the single Khoi pot has been previously mentioned. The green Dutch colander has an almost exact counterpart in what is probably a local product with a few minor differences. The waster pot is an important find which leads us to the point of local production of European-style pottery. The first step taken in this direction was during Van Riebeeck's time when the existence of suitable local clay was confirmed.

Lids are the most prominant amongst the earthenwares and may point to a means of maximizing the limited fuel resources or an emphasis on steamed or stewed meals. Besides the lids, bowls or dishes are most frequently found in this assemblage, followed by large flat-handled pots or basins such as evidenced by the waster product. There is no soot adhering to the bases of the pots and these unusual specimens were probably used as communal serving vessels. The other vessels include smaller pots, jars or beakers, cooking pots or cauldrons, fire-pans, saucepans or skillets, colanders, saucers, braziers and pans in descending order of frequency. When compared with the Dutch Sommelsdijk sample of around 1700, jugs, chamber pots and creamers are absent.

The remaining earthenwares are of European origin, most of which is represented by tin-glazed wares of the later 17th and of the 18th century. Most of the tin-glazed wares are plain, undecorated pieces, and this poses a question also raised by Draper (1984: 32), "It does seem odd that the plainer wares travelled so far," but there is no easy explanation for this. Decorated pieces in popular items such as charges, peasant delft dishes, candlesticks, tulip vases etc. are non-existent in the sample. However, one plate with a polychrome edge is noted

as well as a jar or drug pot in polychrome decoration. It is known that the Delft potters, during their years of prosperity from about 1650 to 1750, aimed mainly to reproduce Chinese-like ceramics (Cushion 1976:52). Perhaps this is the reason why, if not for the plain wares, most of the others are blue and white. On the other hand, since the Cape had easier access to Oriental porcelain, it was not necessary to rely on the heavier, easily chipped and crazed tin-glazed earthenwares from Europe.

The tin-glazed earthenwares are found in plates, jars and dishes, more utilitarian items rather than decorative pieces. There is an emphasis on French faience, especially those of Rouen origin, and these are dated from the mid- 18th to the second half of the 18th century. Although the bulk of this assemblage also tends towards the mid-18th century, this does not explain whey most of the plates and dishes are French. One has to take into account the influence of French cultures at the Cape and this is therefore a factor to be considered.

At the same time however, the side-effects of other important ceramic developments such as white salt-glazed wares, refined white earthenware and creamware was causing a sharp decline in the taste for tin-glazed wares which was virtually reduced to vanishing point by the end of the 18th century. The only attempt of consequence by European potters to overcome this problem of the declining faience industry, was put forward by Rouen, especially noted in advertisements around the 1770's to 1780's (Noël Hume 1985:142).

Apart from the tin-glazed wares, the redware and the salt-glazed wares, the introduction of other earthenwares such as the creamware, refined white earthenware, and pearlware were only beginning to make their mark from around the 2nd half of the 18th century. Their importance, however, according to this assemblage, appears to have been relatively insignificant in relation to competition from the most sought-after Chinese porcelain.

Observations from the Parade sample

The detailed study of the assemblages excavated from the Parade- particularly the ceramic samples- has raised many questions. These have implications for the further, comparative, study of the archaeology of Cape Town. This section poses some of the questions that will need to be addressed in wider research.

Classification system

For the purpose of this study, minimum vessel counts have been used for various vessel forms. In general, the conceptual framework referred to as POTS (Potomac Typological System), formulated by Beaudry, Long, Miller, Neiman and Stone (1983:18-43) for the interpretation of ceramics, has been used here. Further detailed modifications suggested by Yentsch (1991:62-66) have not been found to be applicable at this stage. This study describes a starting point for the analysis of locally excavated ceramic assemblages from historical archaeological sites. Adaptations to the system are bound to become apparent in the future. One such change was effected by combining the two categories " Health/hygiene " and " Other " in this study because the fragments in this sample could not be separated with certainty. The other four categories used, as defined in POTS classification, are "Food storage", "Food processing", "Beverage consumption" and "Food consumption" (Table 5).

Within the five categories used, the associated vessel types used in this study are not exactly as described by Beaudry et al (1983) nor as adapted by Yentsch (1991). The main reasons are that their typologies are based on American site material and on American inventories of the 17th century. At the Cape, detailed research, specifically with the view to vessel form classification for the mid-18th century, has not been done. And furthermore, at this preliminary stage of classification with limitations of the sample, it has often not been possible to be as specific as with the American classification systems. For example, it has not been possible to specify pudding pan or milk pan, but in this study it has been possible to use pan, more generally, and fire-pan more specifically.

FUNCTIONAL CATEGORIES	Porcelain		Coarse earthenware		Stoneware		Other Earthenware		n Total	% Total
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%		
Food storage										
Pots (Martavan –type)					19	2%			19	2
					19	2%			19	2%
Food Processing										
Pots /cauldrons/pipkins/saucepans/			35						35	3
skillets/pans/colanders/lids			36						36	3
			71	6%					71	6%
Beverage consumption										
Bowls, smaller, cups + saucers	278						10		288	25
Pots/jars/beakers			20						20	2
Jugs/bottles/mugs					74				74	6
Tankards										
Teapots					6		1		7	1
	278	24%	20	2%	80	7%	11	1%	389	34%
Food consumption (Serving/distribution										
Plates	210						11		221	19
Bowls, larger	222				4				226	20
Dishes, saucer –dish type	61		4						65	6
Platters/Larger dishes	21		27				4		52	5
Pots / basins			20						20	2
	514	45%	51	5%	4	0,5%	15	1,5%	584	52%
Health / hygiene / other										
Pots (drug), jars/statues, fire–pans										
braziers, spittoon, shaving bowls etc.	44		18				10		72	6
	44	3%	18	2%			10	1%	72	6%
Total minimum vessels	836		160		103		36		1135	
Total %		72%		15%		9.5%		3.5%		100%

Table 5. **Functional categories of Parade assemblage vessels, amended from the "POTS" classification (Beaudry el al 1983).**

Other examples of classifications used in this study are pots, which have been separated into those considered for use in cooking (cooking pots with evidence of soot or attached feet and the smaller variety referred to as pipkins), those possibly used in storage (martavan-type), those possibly used for beverage consumption (such as teapots and others such as pots/jars/beakers where it has not been possible to differentiate between them due to the fragmentary nature of the sample), those probably used in food consumption (possibly for serving, such as the large basin-type vessels without any evidence of soot) and those falling in the category of other/health/hygiene such as drug pots and chamber pots.

Similarly, the POTS classification also uses the vessel types storage pots, pipkins and chamber pots, but in addition, also uses drinking pots, sillabub pots, caudle pots and galley pots . Dutch references, on the other hand, also use "tabakspot", "vetpot", "roompot", "gatenpot", "lollepot" and "doofpot" (De Kleyn 1986:108-196). In the presented sample analysis, apart from the overlapping use of pipkins, storage pots, cooking pots and chamber pots, it has not been possible to use these additional more specific categories.

Modified typological sources have been derived from Dutch and Chinese ceramic references (Christie's Catalogue 1977; 1989; Christie's London Catalogue 1987; Christie's Monaco Catalogue 1987; De Kleyn 1965; Godden 1974; Jörg 1986; Kirkman 1974; Le Corbeiller 1974; Nienhaus 1987; Noël Hume 1985; Savage *et al* 1974; Sanctuary Howard 1974; 1991; Sheaf *et al* 1988; Vos 1985; 1986; Volker 1954; Van Loo 1984; Woodward 1974; Weijs 1976; Willoughby Hodgson 1912; Yeo and Martin 1978). It has therefore been possible to add the following classifications in the Parade sample, namely, cauldrons, saucepans, skillets, lids, tankards, teapots, saucer-type dishes, platters, fire-pans, braziers, spittoons and shaving bowls. These items have been identified in the sample and added to the vessel type classification used in this study, but do not occur in the POTS classification. The POTS vessel types pudding pan, milk pan, footed bowl, drinking pot, flask, pitcher, ewer, punch bowl, syllabub pot, porringer, soup plate, caudle pot, salt, galley pot, candlestick and betty lamp, have not been used in this study. It has either not been possible to identify these in the assemblage under study or these items are not present at all.

Certain anomalies should be pointed out. The pots/basins without soot could belong to the storage instead of the food consumption category. The lids, as with those which appear in terms of size to fit onto the cooking pots, have been placed under food processing. Certain lids could belong to the storage or food consumption categories. Similarly, certain pots/jars could also belong to storage instead of beverage consumption. It is not possible, from the sample in question, to confirm any of the above.

Table 5 therefore represents the results of the Parade ceramic assemblage classified within an amended version of Beaudry *et al* (1983), with a breakdown of various vessel forms in each functional category. Each item has been counted under the different ceramic type, namely, porcelain, coarse earthenware or pottery, stoneware or other earthenware. Figure 42 and Figure 43 are graphic representations of the information contained in Table 5. Figure 42 shows the percentages of the different types of ceramics within the various functional categories in the Parade assemblage and Figure 43 illustrates the functional forms in the various ceramics.

Figures 44 and 45 focuses more specifically on only the porcelain in the sample, showing the clusters of percentage frequencies through time. Table 6 summarizes the information listed in Table 1.2. Table 6 forms the basis on which Figure 45, illustrating in more detail the types of vessel forms in porcelain within each time framework, has been drawn up. Figure 46 shows a detailed graphic comparison in vessel types between the Parade and *Geldermalsen* porcelains. Figure 46 is based on the data listed in Tables 1.2 and 1.3 in the previous section. Figure 47 represents the types of vessel forms occurring within each functional category in the Parade assemblage.

Vessel forms and functional categories

When the total ceramic assemblage is taken into account, the main observations in terms of vessel forms and the functional categories described in this study are that the household ceramics were mainly used in food and beverage consumption, with processing, storage and

Fig. 42. **Types of ceramics which make up various functional forms, amended from "POTS" classification system.**

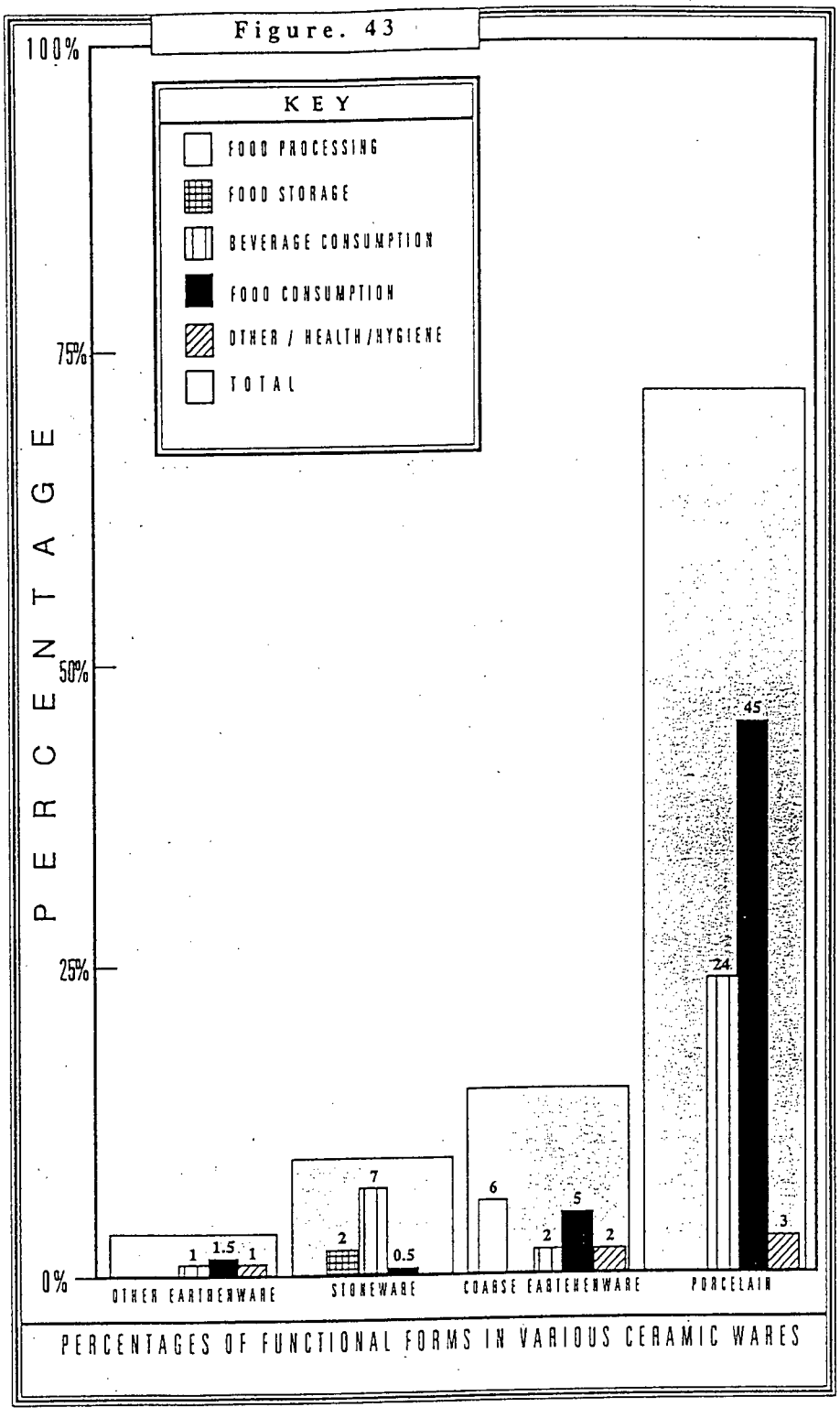


Fig. 43. Percentages of functional forms in various ceramic wares.

other purposes lagging far behind. Ideological functions such as the case of ornaments do not appear to emerge as significant at this level of analysis.

A great deal of information may be gleaned from a combination of Table 5, Figure 42 and Figure 43. Within the food and beverage consumption category, it is evident that food and beverages were mostly consumed from porcelain which together make up 69% (45% +24% respectively) of the total ceramic assemblage (Table 5; Fig 43). Stoneware also shows up as significant in the beverage consumption category, but not as strongly as porcelain.

The category of other/health/hygiene consists of a mixture of porcelain, coarse and other earthenwares, probably because of the diversity of its functions and vessel types which include, for example, drug pots, statuettes, fire-pans and braziers, spittoons and shaving bowls. In contrast to the porcelain which predominates in the food and beverage consumption category, the category of other/health/hygiene contains a mixture of porcelain, other and coarse earthenware. In addition to this, food processing appears exclusively within the domain of coarse earthenware and food storage exclusively within stoneware in this sample (Table 5; Fig 42).

Figure 43 illustrates the percentages in the Parade sample of functional forms in various ceramic wares. The bulk, being the porcelain category, is made up of food and beverage consumption vessels with a limited number of pieces falling under other/health/hygiene. When coarse earthenwares are looked at in isolation, they appear to have been distributed amongst the functions which include food processing, food consumption and to a lesser extent, beverage consumption and other/health/hygiene, indicative of a more well-rounded utilitarian spread in functional form.

Stonewares are mostly indicative of beverage consumption with a few items of storage included (Fig 43). Other earthenwares are very poorly represented and spread almost equally thinly among beverage consumption, food consumption and other/health/hygiene.

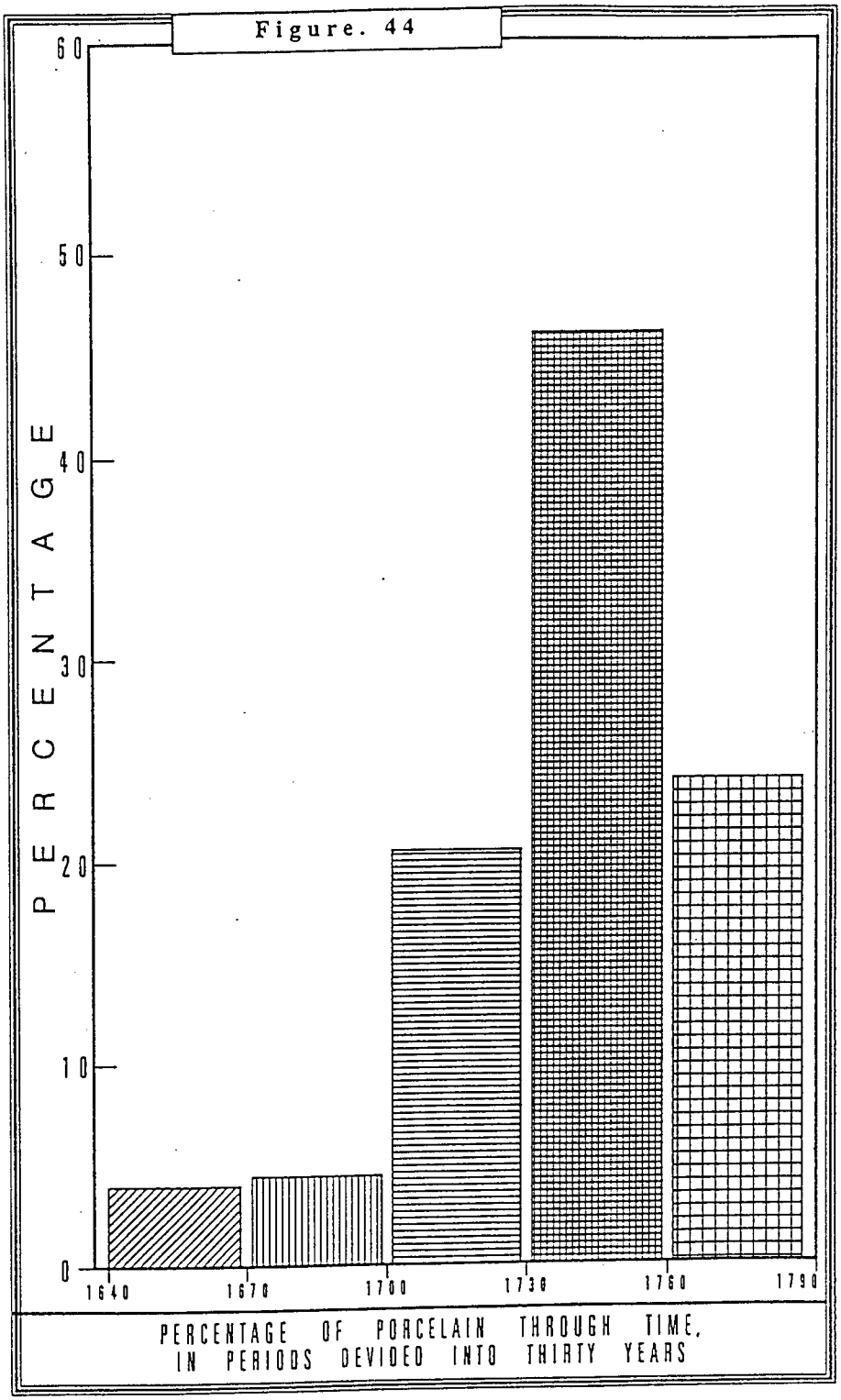


Fig. 44. Percentage of porcelain through time, in periods divided into thirty years.

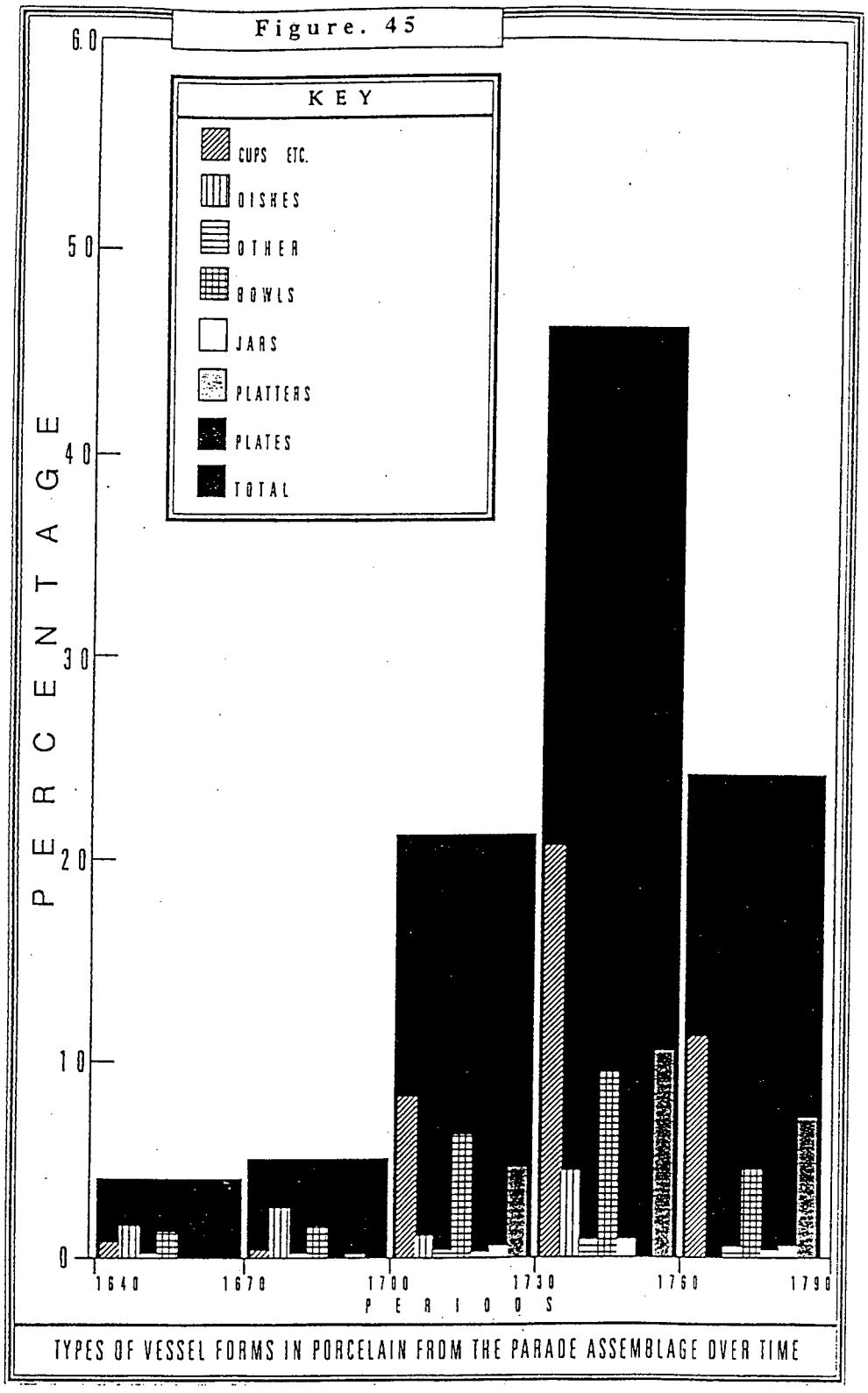


Fig. 45. **Types of vessel forms in porcelain from the Parade assemblage over time.**

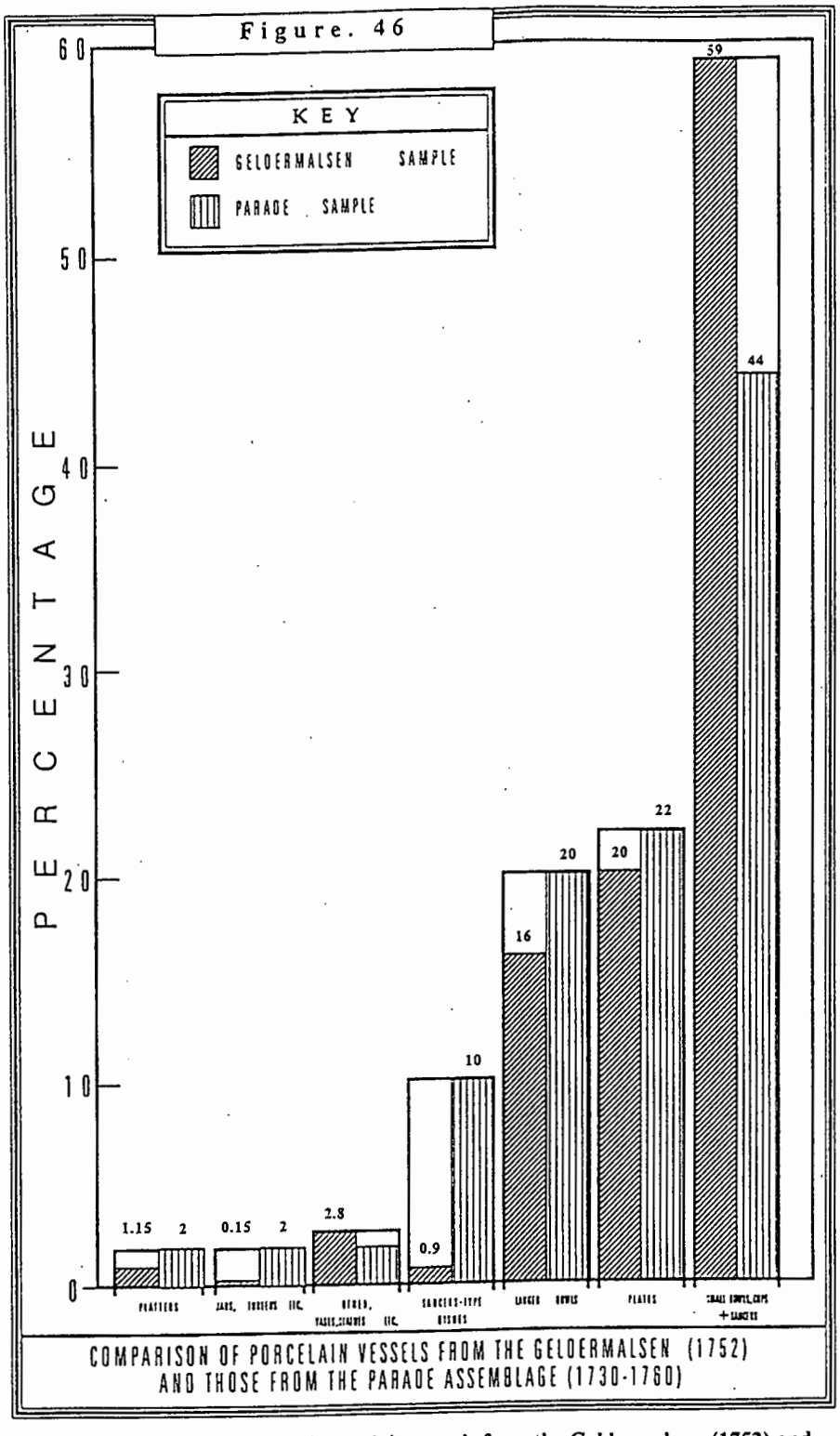


Fig. 46. **Comparison of porcelain vessels from the Geldermalsen (1752) and those from the Parade assemblage (1730-1760).**

PERIODS	CERAMIC PERCENTAGES							% TOTAL
	CUPS ETC.	DISHES	OTHER	BOWLS	JARS	PLATTERS	PLATES	
1640–1670	0.8	1.6	.3	1.3				4%
1670–1700	0.4	2.5	.3	1.6		.2		5%
1700–1730	8.0	1.1	.4	6.1	.3	.6	4.5	21%
1730–1760	20.4	4.3	.9	9.2	.9		10.3	46%
1760–1790	11.0		.6	4.4	.4	.6	7	24%
% TOTAL	40.6	9.5	2.5	22.6	1.6	1.4	21.8	100%

Table 6. **Percentages of dated ceramics from the Parade through time.**

FUNCTIONAL CATEGORIES

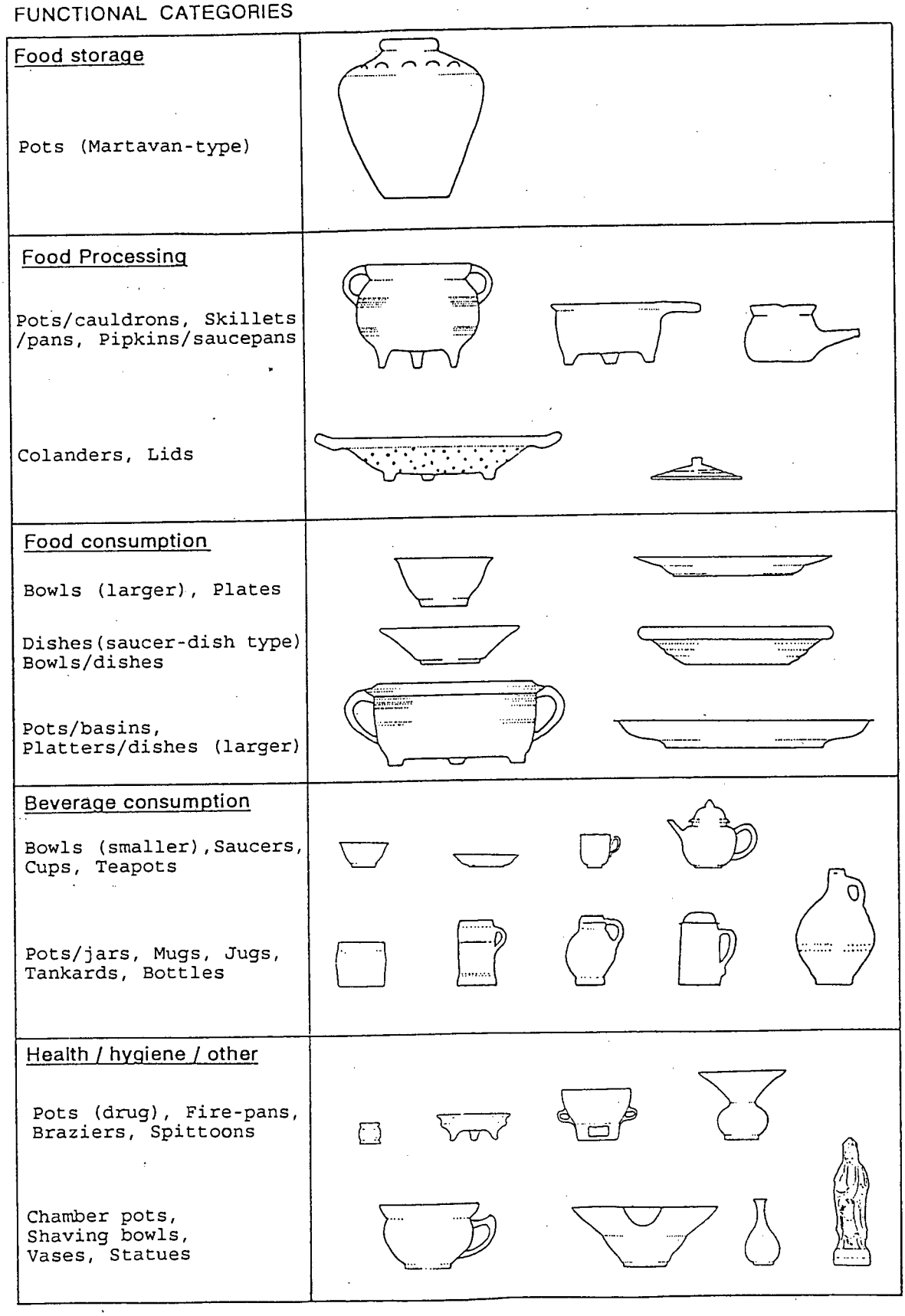


Fig. 47. **Schematic representation of vessel forms within various functional categories in the Parade assemblage.**

From Table 5 it is clear that the bulk of the ceramics is made up of smaller bowls, cups and saucers (25%), nearly all of which are Oriental porcelain related to the tea ceremony. The preponderance of datable teaware (40.6%) is followed by larger bowls (22.6%) and plates (21.8%), again nearly all of which are in Oriental porcelain (Table 6). Focussing on the porcelain, the bulk of the dated sample falls within the period 1730-1760 (Fig 44), overlapping with the periods of other datable artefacts in the assemblage such as the bottles (Abrahams 1987) and the clay tobacco pipes (Abrahams 1984). Focussing once again on the porcelain, the period 1700 to 1790 is loaded mostly with Oriental teaware, followed by Oriental bowls and platters (Fig 45). Among the porcelain within the 18th century, the next most significant percentage is represented by porcelain dishes mostly of the coarse porcelain variety in the saucer-type.

A comparison in functional forms of porcelain between the Parade assemblage and that of the *Geldermalsen* shows that teaware, in both cases, was the top priority (Fig 46). The closest ties in these two assemblages lie in the porcelain plates and in the larger porcelain bowls. The most significant gap is evident in the saucer-type dishes which appears most prominantly in the Parade assemblage. The other categories of vessel forms are poorly represented, all under 3%, in both cases.

CHAPTER 6

INVENTORY INFORMATION

Inventories, west corner of the Grand Parade

Apart from Woodward (1982) and Malan's (1990; 1993) analyses of inventory information which will be discussed in more detail later in this section, more directly related inventories, relevant to the site were consulted. The choice of inventories was guided by the following: Firstly, inventories of the Table Valley were isolated, then focussing only on those surrounding the Grand Parade and more specifically, those on the west corner around the area where the excavations had taken place. Secondly, the focus was on those inventories falling around the middle of the 18th century, between 1740 and 1760. According to Malan's listing (1993:229-298), only four inventories meet these criteria, namely, those of Isabella Hasewinkel (1745), Debora de Koning (1748), Adam Mulder (1750) and Aletta van den Bergh (1755). For the purpose of this study, the focus has been on the ten year period around the mid-18th century and the following three inventories have therefore been chosen, namely, those of 1745, 1750 and 1755 (Appendix A). The methodology used to relate the inventory information to the archaeological questions, is as used by Malan (1993).

Not all items listed in the inventories were noted here. Specifically, all items of ceramic or those related to food and beverage preparation, consumption and storage were included. Additional items of interest are those used in the display, and consumption of food eg. display cabinets and tables and items such as candle holders which were also made in ceramic. Lists of copper/brass, iron, silver and pewter items have also been included in as much as they contribute to our understanding of the general foodway tradition.

In the inventories the word "tin" is used for pewter. Translations from the Dutch inventories

are either my own or those used by Malan (1993:210-221) or, where they are still questionable, left in inverted commas.

The evidence of the three probate inventories outlined in the Appendices A1, A2 and A3, has been reformulated into Table 7. The information contained in the three mid-18th century inventories around the Parade has been re-organized into the categories relevant for comparison with the excavated assemblage, in order to make them more accessible for interpretation in this study. Table 7 is therefore a re-organized version of the Parade inventories under the functional categories " Food storage", "Food processing", "Other/health/hygiene", "Beverage consumption" and "Food consumption", used for the Parade excavated assemblage. Table 8 is a summarized version of the results contained in these inventories, contrasted with the results from the Parade sample.

In Tables 7 and 8, when the functional capacity of an item has sometimes come into question, the location of the item has been used as an indication of its use; eg the porcelain in a cabinet may have been used either on display or in food consumption, or both. The table in the dining room was supposedly for food consumption and that in the kitchen, for food processing and preparation. On the other hand, this does not always hold true such as in the case of the tables found in the other rooms and a large number of copper/brass utensils found in the dining room in Isabella Hasewinkel's 1745 inventory, many of which, such as the tart pans, cauldrons/boilers and colanders, would have been of more functional use in the kitchen.

Also in terms of function, the pewter trays or salvers found in association with pewter beverage utensils, have been added to the category of beverage consumption, unlike their silver counterparts which have been placed more generally with food consumption, even though this is not necessarily correct. However, it is true that the silver trays are found in association with the silver items such as knives, forks and salt cellars, more generally used in food consumption. Woodward describes the context of a silver salver used as tableware (1982:212).

VESSEL FORM / FUNCTION	P	E	W	C	S	O	T	I	TOTAL
FOOD STORAGE									
meat hanger								1	1
metal boxes							2		2
food cupboards			2						2
martavan						2			2
glass carboys						2			2
carboy	1								1
flagons, empty						1x			1x
cellaret (1 empty)						2			2
flasks + bottles (some empty)						2x			2x
vat with coconut oil			1						1 |
barrels, tea, barley			2						2 |
barrels			4						4 | 22
tubs			3						3 |
casks, (6 empty)						6	6		12 |
tubs/vats			1x						1x
bag, corks						1			1
TOTAL	1		12			13	8	1	35
Total some/sets			1x			3x			4x

VESSEL FORM FUNCTION	P	E	W	C	S	O	T	I	TOTAL
FOOD PROCESSING									
table (1 kitchen)			2						2
grater				1					1
tart pans with lids				5					5 |
"poffer" pans				2					2 |
skimmer pan				2					2 | 14
baking pan				1				1	2 |
pan (2 long handle, 1 frying)				3					3 |
kettles/cauldrons/boilers, (3 with lids + 1 ham + 1 beer)				9					9
colander				1					1
casserole				3					3
funnel				1					1
pestles with mortars (1 mortar)				4					4
ewer with iron feet				1					1
cleaver						2		1	3
chopping knife with board								1	1
"overkeerbort"						1			1
grid								2	2
pots (2 cooking)		2						9	11
tongs				2				1	3
blow pipe						1			1
chimney chains						5			5
trivet						1			1
"waterhalfaam"						1			1
water can								1	1
buckets (3 water)						5			5
earthenware		1x							1x
coffee mills				1		2			3
rice block/mortar with pestle						1			1
chopping board						1			1
TOTAL		2	2	36		20		16	76
		1x							1x

VESSEL FORM/FUNCTION OTHER/HEALTH/HYGIENE	P	E	W	C	S	O	T	I	TOTAL	
cabinet			5						5	
shelves			15						15	
tables			5						5	
tables, little (5" gerridons")			8						8	
wardrobe			1						1	
cupboard (2 " glaasekas")			7						7	
chest			1						1	
jugs + lids (2 with dishes/bowls)	6								6	
"suyplaatjie" with flints						1			1	
firepans				9					9	
brazier/chafing dish				8	1			1	10	
spittoons (6 large, 6 small)				48					48	
balance with scales				2		1		1	4	
bedpan							1		1	
chamber pots (2 japanned)	1					2			3	
close stool/commode						1			1	
"sheutsenpot"						1			1	
candlesticks				19	4	16			39	
candlesticks, passage				1					1	
candlesticks, wall				5					5	47
candlesticks, chambersticks				2					2	
TOTAL	7		42	94	5	22	1	2	173	

VESSEL FORM/FUNCTION BEVERAGE CONSUMPTION	P	E	W	C	S	O	T	I	TOTAL
glasses, glassware, some						3x			3x
"casse" with diverse teaware						1x			1x
diverse teaware						1x			1x
beakers (10 little)	10			2	1				13
jugs/tankards (7 little)						7	2		9
flasks	2								2
bowls, little	14								14
mugs, coffee (1 chocolate)				7					7
bottles						1x			1x
coffee pots				6					6
teapots/kettles (7 + braziers)				7	1		1		9
sugar/candy box					1				1
"bottlegreep"				1					1
taps				4					4
trays/salvers							2		2
TOTAL	26			27	3	7	5		68
Total some/sets						6x			6x

cont/...

VESSEL FORM/FUNCTION	P	E	W	C	S	O	T	I	TOTAL	
FOOD CONSUMPTION										
tables			10						10	
tableware sets	2x								2x	
porcelain sets	6x								6x	
porcelain, some	2x								2x	
bowls, (japanned/lacquered)						5			5	
bowl (1 with lid)	17								17	
bowls, shallow						7			7	
bowls, coarse	1x								1x	
bowl, slop					1				1	
bowl/basin							1		1	
plates	110						25		135	
dishes	37						19		56	
bell				1					1	
spoons (3 little)					48				48	
"confituurleepeltjies"					4				4	52
spoons, some						1x			1x	
forks (2 little)					43	9			52	
fork with "hartshooorehegtery"						1			1	53
knife with "hartshoorehegtery"						1			1	
knives with silver handles					11				11	28
table knives						16			16	
soup ladle (1 spoon=ladle?)					2				2	
serving spoon								1	1	
"springkooker"					1				1	
salt cellars					7	1			8	
pepper cannisters					2				2	
mustard pots					2				2	
dish hoops				3					3	
trays/salvers					5				5	
TOTAL	164		10	4	126	40	45	1	390	
Total some/sets	11x					1x			12x	

Table 7. **Parade inventories of 1745, 1750 and 1755 combined under functional categories.**

It is interesting to note that certain items, such as tables, have been specifically described in inventories eg kitchen table, small tables etc, and many more have been specifically listed in other inventories apart from those described here (Woodward 1982:131). Items such as candlesticks have been specified such as passage candlesticks, chamber candlesticks etc. Baking pans have been specifically described such as tart pans, "poffer" pans etc. These are often indicative of items of special use and their functions are therefore more precisely pointed out.

Items of furnishing included in the inventory listing are only those directly associated with ceramics or foodway accessories in the inventories, such as cupboards with porcelain on or inside them, chests with spoons and forks, cabinets or shelves with porcelain etc.

Results

Within the food storage category, most of the inventory information does not describe the type of material used, but other than this, wood features most prominently in this category, where barrels, tubs etc are most often being used for food storage (Table 7; Table 8). The presence of tubs, casks and barrels are everywhere apparent in other inventories (Woodward 1982:190). This information has, however, not been preserved in the Parade excavated sample, where the only items definitely used in storage are the martavan-type pots in stoneware (Table 5).

The food processing category indicates a heavy reliance on copper/brass in the Parade inventories (Table 7). Most of the items consist of a variety of pans (largely in copper/brass), followed by pots (mostly in iron) and kettles/cauldrons/boilers (all in copper/brass). In contrast, all the food processing is indicated in pottery/coarse earthenware in the Parade excavated sample.

FUNCTIONAL CATEGORIES	MATERIAL TYPE										
	P	E	W	C	S	O	T	I	Tot	Inventory % Totals	Parade sample % Totals
Food storage	1	–	12	–	–	13	8	1	35	5	2
Food processing	–	2	2	36	–	20	–	16	76	10	6
Other/Health/Hygiene	7	–	42	94	5	22	1	2	173	23	6
Beverage Consumption	26	–	–	27	3	7	5	–	68	9	34
Food Consumption	164	–	10	4	126	40	45	1	390	53	52
TOTAL	**198**	**2**	**66**	**161**	**134**	**102**	**59**	**20**	**742**		
Inventory % Totals	26	0.3	9	22	18	14	8	2.7		100%	
Parade sample % Totals	74	17	–	–	–	9	–	–			100%

Table 8. **Parade inventory data of material types and functional categories within the food domain compared with the Parade excavated sample.**

Under other/health/hygiene (Table 7), the bulk of the artefacts are spittoons and candlesticks of various sorts in the inventory information. Generally speaking, the materials in this category within the inventories were mostly copper or brass and wood. Again, this information is not reflected in the archaeological data, which is poorly represented in this category (6%) and furthermore, shows up predominantly in porcelain (3%).

The inventory data reflect mostly little bowls and beakers in the category "Beverage consumption", largely in porcelain, followed by a variety of items in copper or brass. There is often reference to sets of, for example, glasses, teaware and bottles. Since we do not know what a set consists of in each case, this reduces the accuracy of the percentage calculations. The archaeological data for beverage consumption is predominantly represented by porcelain (24%) and stoneware (7%) (Table 5). Once again, as with the food storage category, stoneware eludes the inventory information.

Food was mainly served/consumed and from porcelain and silver, according to the inventory information (Table 7). The archaeological data and the inventory information appear to support each other in terms of percentage totals (Table 8), representing 52% and 53% respectively within the food consumption category. However, porcelain is by far the major contribution making up 45% of the total 52% in "Food consumption" (Table 5) represented in the archaeological sample. Second to porcelain, coarse earthenware is the next highest category, but this is only represented by 5% in the archaeological sample. As with the beverage consumption category, porcelain is often (eleven times in the three inventories listed) referred to in "sets", the details of which are unknown. The percentage proportion of porcelain in the inventory data could therefore be considerably higher, but silver still features unexpectedly high under "Food consumption".

When a comparison is made between the inventory percentage totals and those of the Parade excavated sample (Table 8), the following points are evident. In terms of functional categories, the least discrepancy lies in food consumption, where porcelain is the main player in both sets of data, and the biggest difference is noticeable in beverage consumption, where

porcelain and copper/brass are almost equally represented as the major contributions to the inventory data and porcelain only in the excavated sample. Thus, once again, the importance of copper/brass items is emphasized in the consumption of beverages in the inventory data, but absent from the archaeological data. Is this because of differential preservation in the two sets of data?

Comparing the material types between the inventory and excavation data (Table 8), the biggest variation is in the porcelain, but as previously mentioned, this could be tied in with the difference in percentage calculations resulting from the listing of "sets" only in the inventories which cannot be accurately estimated. The following big difference is in the copper/brass component, where the inventory information is the only source, mostly represented under the other/health/hygiene category. There is a relatively big variation in percentage proportions of earthenware in the inventory information (0,3%) in contrast to the archaeological data (17%). In the material type category "Other", there is only a minor difference between the two data sets (Table 8).

The excavated versus the probate data

The analysis of probate inventories "provides a framework within which past material culture can be understood by reconstructing the particular contexts in which households were established, maintained and altered" (Malan 1993:3). In both archaeological and inventory contexts, there is a major connection in foodway analysis.

Malan (1990:148) notes certain observations resulting from comparing the excavated versus the probate data, isolating those "taphonomic filters" (Hall *et al* 1990:84) which determine the nature of the archaeological record. In a case study quoted by her, the site of an 18th century VOC post-holder's homestead in Newlands Forest, ceramic, glass and bones associated with the storage, preparation and consumption of food were excavated. Missing evidence, however, in regard to foodways, were items such as the unrecovered organic remains of food both consumed and unconsumed, the unbroken or more decorative non-

utilitarian vessels and "in situ" evidence of how the recovered and unrecovered remains were used.

According to her findings (1990:148), the inventory information, in contrast, records exactly those possessions not found in archaeological excavations. That is, those significant items associated with the inhabiting, furnishing and fitting, and those of aesthetic and intellectual value of the 18th century household and its occupants. They include furnishings directly associated with the food domain and items connected with the storage and display of relevant vessels, such as cabinets, tables, wardrobes, glass-fronted and other cupboards (food cupboards), chests and shelves on which and in which there were porcelain and other shelves (with diverse teaware) and items made in copper/brass, silver, pewter, iron and other materials.

Copper/brass items included in the three Parade inventories are coffee pots, coffee mugs/jugs, a chocolate mug/jug, tea kettles with braziers/chafing dishes, ham and beer boilers/cauldrons and other kettles/cauldrons/boilers (with lids), a "bottelgreep", graters, a bell, firepans, tart pans (with lids), "poffer" pans, small and large spittoons, colanders, skimmer pans, baking pans, pestles and mortars, a copper/brass ewer with iron feet, braziers/chafing dishes, (chamber, wall and passage) candlesticks, taps, scales with a balance, casseroles, pans with long handles, a frying pan, a funnel, beakers, a coffee mill, fire tongs and dish hoops (Table 7). This is quite a sizable amount of information, considering that none of it is reflected by the archaeological data.

The Parade inventories also list silver items, most of which were probably used at the table such as spoons, forks, ladles, salt cellars, pepper canisters, mustard pots, trays/ salvers, a beaker, candlesticks, a chafing dish/brazier, a tea pot/kettle, a sugar box, a slop bowl with 3 little spoons and 2 little forks, a "springkooker" and knives with silver handles.

Pewter objects in the inventories include metal boxes, a bedpan, plates, dishes, casks, a bowl, jugs/tankards, a tea pot/kettle and trays/salvers (Table 7).

Iron objects relevant to this study include a balance with a wooden scale, a meat hanger, choppers/cleavers, a chopping knife, a grid, pots, tongs, a brazier/chafing dish, a baking pan, a serving spoon and a water can. Once again, the list of iron objects are important here because, if remnants of these artefacts are excavated, they are usually corroded beyond recognition.

Relevant glass objects listed include some glasses, some bottles, carboys and some glassware. Certain of these items were found in the assemblage, but this is not directly under study here save for the fact that it is certainly related to beverage consumption.

Other anomalous items, where it is not stated of what materials they are made but which have ceramic counterparts and, in all probability, have a bearing on the use of local tablewares and foodways, include little jugs/tankards, a little "suyplaatje" with flints, a blowpipe, chimney chains (probably iron), a trivet (probably iron), buckets (probably iron), coffee mills (probably pewter), a rice block/mortar with pestle, table knives, forks, bottles and flasks (some empty), choppers/cleavers (probably iron), a water can (probably iron), water buckets, a "sheutsenpot", martavans (probably stoneware), some empty flagons/flasks, japanned/lacquered little and other bowls, candlesticks, a chimney plate, a close stool/commode, shallow bowls, jugs, a bag of corks and diverse teaware (probably porcelain). Wherever it has been indicated, in brackets, of what the item is probably made, this has been deduced from the fact that the item is listed among other items of that material and/or it has been previously encountered as such.

Items probably of wood include (wooden?) japanned/lacquered chamber pots, a chopping board, an "overkeerbort", an empty cellaret, a cellaret with flasks, empty casks, a vat of coconut oil, a barrel of tea, a barrel of "geerst", a "waterhalfaam" and some other tubs/vats and barrels.

In the line of porcelain itself, which only forms 26% of the inventory data, the following items are noted; little and other bowls, beakers, chamber pots (two japanned), sets of porcelain

(mentioned six times), tableware sets (mentioned twice), plates, dishes, a carboy, jugs (possibly garnitures?) with lids and two with dishes or bowls, flasks, some coarse bowls (porcelain/earthenware?) and some porcelain in kind ("a cupboard with"). In contrast to the other material type items previously listed, the porcelain and earthenware items in the inventories do not offer much additional information to what is available in the archaeological sample.

The listing of little bowls in the inventories could only refer to the numerous little tea bowls found in the Parade assemblage. Beakers, carboys and flasks are not present or identifiable in the Parade excavated porcelain. But apart from the aforementioned, all other vessel types and many more are represented in the excavated sample. What is, however, interesting about the inventory information, is the association of artefacts such as the porcelain in cupboards or on shelves and their relative distribution throughout the house. This will be discussed in more detail later in this section. Moreover, it is this one category, namely porcelain, which forms the bulk of the archaeological sample (72%), which appears to be the most promising in terms of information detail.

Earthenwares/pottery listed in the three Parade inventories mostly note these by way of some ("parthy"), without any particular description of kind or numbers. In one case, two cooking pots are mentioned, but this is contrasted against nine other iron pots. The earthenware in the inventories, it would appear, whether through lack of mentioning or otherwise, represents less than one percent of the data whereas the archaeological sample is represented by 15% (Table 8). Once again, the archaeological information is instructive in this regard.

Other inventory analyses and archaeological data

Woodward (1974; 1981;1982; 1983a; 1983b; 1986) and Malan's work (1986; 1990; 1993) on inventory information is an invaluable asset to the study of Cape material culture of the 17th and 18th centuries. But much more needs to be done to systematize the primary reference work and as stated by Malan, " There is still a long way to go...before adequate

rigorously researched quantification of the Cape records is available for comparative research" (1993:4). Nonetheless, when specific categories of information such as the porcelain and other artefacts not recovered in the archaeological context such as pewter, silver, copper, brass, cutlery and furniture associated with ceramics, are reconsidered within the excavated material culture evidence, certain observations become apparent.

The inventories show a substantial increase in porcelain possessions from the 17th into the 18th century (Woodward 1982:211). This trend is indeed endorsed by the profusion of porcelain in the Parade sample. However, when it comes down more specifically to, for example, delftware, there is a total lack of clarity in regard to its prevalence in the inventory information. At first Woodward considered that it might have been listed under the general category of porcelain (1982:212). But in a later comment she notes that the archaeological material showed a distinctly low presence of this ceramic type, similarly indicated by the Parade assemblage. When they do occur in the sample, plates, dishes or platters and jars or drug pot fragments are present. This sample is not adequate to prove or disprove the opinion expressed by Woodward that there was a greater dependance on delftware during the earlier years of the settlement, but the sample does clearly indicate a lack of dependance on this ceramic type towards the mid-18th century.

Also in the assemblage of tin-glazed wares in the Parade sample, the presence of French Rouen ware, even though this was more popular as an export item in the 18th century, may be reminiscent of the large numbers of French Huguenots who started immigrating into the country in the late 17th century. This type of ware is mostly associated with French settlers in the United States of America (Noël Hume 1985:141) and may well show a similar trend locally when more sites are investigated.

Decorative wares in the porcelain are poorly represented in the sample. However, it is Woodward's contention (1982:212) that even the ordinary bowls, dishes and plates were displayed with decorative items and these, in the case of the Parade assemblage, would be the vases, little pots and statuette in the sample, exploiting the ornate qualities of the imported

porcelain. The decorative appeal of the porcelain is further supported by the Parade inventory information which describes the show of all types of porcelain in and on top of cabinets and shelves.

The lack of matching plates and dishes alluded to by Woodward is similarly reflected in the sample, and this is more or less as it occurred in Europe too (Woodward 1982:213). Although the dinner plate with the basic bamboo and grape decoration appears to have been rather popular in the sample, it was also more generally popular as an export item, reflected by the *Geldermalsen* assemblage. No two items in the assemblage have been found to be exactly the same, even though the basic design of the aforementioned was similar. It is therefore conceivable, as stated by Woodward, that blue-and-white porcelain was arbitrarily assembled and even though different, created a harmonious impression when seen together.

Even polychrome wares, judging from the excavated sample and supported by Woodward's findings (1982;214), appear to have been treated in this way, perhaps only succumbing to the fashion of actual services precipitated by the popularization of tea sets in Europe. Exceptional services, such as those with armorial designs, were made to match, but this is not relevant to the Parade assemblage which is totally lacking in any of this kind of porcelain.

Within the Dutch context, the writer of *De Volmaakte Hollandse Kueken Meid*, a popular book of the mid-18th century (1965:135-146), describes the serving of meals in which a mixture of pewter and porcelain tableware is assumed as part of this period table setting. Woodward has also noted a mixture of pewter, porcelain, silver and earthenware in local inventories of the 17th and early 18th centuries and the three Parade inventories do not contradict this. Pewter and silver, however, are problematic to identify even in mere terms of presence or absence in the archaeological record, because these metals were re-utilized. And the same applies to the copper/brass items represented in such quantity in the Parade inventories. But the particulars of porcelain and earthenware are much more extensive in the archaeological data, the details of which are described in the previous section on the Parade assemblage. Porcelain is certainly well represented in the sample, with an emphasis on little

bowls, cups and saucers, plates, larger bowls and saucer-type dishes of the coarse variety and, in the coarse earthenware, predominated by lids, bowls/dishes, pots/basins, smaller pots and pots/cauldrons .

The custom of eating with the fingers was on its way out in the 18th century, but not completely abandoned at all levels of society (Woodward 1982:209). A definite increase in the amount of cutlery recorded is evident in the early 18th century inventories but only very occasional reference is made to serving spoons. One therefore wonders about the degree of refinement the process of dishing up entailed. There is nothing in the ceramic sample to shed light on this question except to investigate the evidence of cutlery marks on various ceramics as part of another project. From the three Parade inventories listed, the indications are that the use of beautifully hand-painted individual porcelain plates was accompanied by the use of cutlery, mostly spoons (52 specimens) and forks (53 specimens), followed by approximately half their numbers in knives (28 specimens) (Table 7).

When Malan's tables of contents (1993:299-313) from the transcribed documents focussing on ceramics and furniture for their use and display in the period 1740 to 1780 are scrutinized, a number of observations become evident. The use of the terms "voorkamer", "voorhuis", "kombuis" "galdery", glass-fronted cupboards, wall-cupboards and gueridons, are as described by Malan (1993:62-82; 210-221). Unless otherwise stated, both the urban and rural contexts appear similar during this period.

Firstly, the cabinets in which the porcelain may have been displayed were mostly situated in the "voorkamer" (front room). Glass-fronted cupboards were also found mostly in the "voorkamer", but strangely enough, there were none to be found in the rural inventories.

Wall-cupboards, used for prominent displays, were only located in the "galdery" (gallery, passage, hall or eating room). This is interesting, and yet difficult to understand, in that the "galdery" is also the location where most of the tea sets are found in town contexts, but in the "voorhuis" (front hall, entrance lobby) in rural areas. This appears to indicate that either the

functions of the "galdery" and the "voorhuis" were different between the rural and urban contexts, or that the tea sets were deliberately put on display at the very front of the house in the rural context, rather than the area further back which may have been reserved for more intimate domestic activities. It should be kept in mind that at this time, judging from the recorded room-by-room inventories, the majority of town and rural houses were four-roomed in size (Malan 1993:326), that is, similar space allocations apply.

Porcelain dishes were mostly located in the "voorhuis", in contrast to pewter in general, which, at this stage, appears to have been relegated mostly to the "kombuis" (kitchen) in the town and spread between the "voorhuis" and the "kombuis" in rural areas. Pewter plates, however, were also found in the "kombuis" in both settings but again, a few were still located in the "voorhuis" in rural settings. This might suggest a lag in fashion or more conservative attitudes in certain households out of town? On the other hand, the Parade inventories are represented by only three households, and this may be considered too limited to provide any more definite indications of trends with regard to the use of pewter.

The 1745 inventory (Appendix A1) lists pewter, not in the kitchen but in the "galdery". This is unusual though because like the other kitchenware items such as the pots, cauldrons, pans, cleaver and chopping knife, chimney chains and buckets, normally located in the kitchen, these are also listed in the "galdery". In the second inventory of 1750 (Appendix A2), the pewter items are all found in the kitchen. However, no "galdery" is indicated in this house and no pewter is located in any of the other rooms. The third inventory of 1755 (Appendix A3) lists pewter in the third "galdery camer". In conclusion, it may be that if the second inventory household did possess a "galdery", which in this case may have been substituted by the kitchen, then all the pewter described in these inventories was located in the galleries, not in the kitchens as evidenced by the other inventories. However, the data base is too limited in this regard to make any firm assumptions.

Purely decorative items such as porcelain garnitures were generally positioned in the "voorkamer", to maximum effect, one would expect. Gueridons (pedestal-type stands or

tables) possibly used for vases, were predominantly found in the "voorkamer" in town contexts, but exclusively in the "voorkamer" in rural areas. And finally, on an end-note to this chapter, apart from raising some interesting points of speculation about the status value of certain of the ceramics, the inventory information also enhances the picture of the functional domain and domestic contexts of the archaeological assemblage. But the two undoubtedly go hand-in-hand.

CHAPTER 7

DISCUSSION

The introduction of new ingredients, beverages and new dishes, and the way in which these were integrated into the VOC Dutch cuisine of the time, gave rise to a vernacular culture which is the subject of inquiry here. The question of interpreting the archaeological sample, the ceramics, the material expression of that culture needs to be looked at from different angles. This is the subject of the final chapter. When set against each other, what do the inventory and archaeological data tell us about the mid-18th century Cape? What was the basic cuisine of the 17th and 18th century Cape, as indicated in the available literature? What were the local additions to this cuisine? And what information is available on the development of local traditional ways of preparing and consuming food? What is the association between the ceramic artefacts, local cuisine and the faunal remains?

The sample under study was excavated from a site central to the development of Cape Town, the first official Dutch/ indigenous contact site in the 17th century. Subsequently, the intermingling of various cultures at the Cape gave rise by the mid-18th century, to a culture which was distinguishable as "Cape". What are the material signatures of this culture?

Inventories and other documentary evidence

Inventories and other documentary evidence have been successfully employed in a variety of historical archaeological studies (Beaudry 1993:1-3; Brown 1993:79) and locally, computer applications have recently assisted in the systematic examination of this important source of data (Malan 1993:15;25; Scott 1987). The use of documentary evidence as part of the data base in archaeological interpretation has already become a fairly well-established new direction in archaeology, and has been discussed in the previous chapter.

However, limitations are inherent in all forms of data, and with inventories there are obvious dangers in extrapolating from documents to the society as a whole without a thorough evaluation of the probate sources. A complicated and variable number of forces pre-determines what materials have been buried, which of them have survived and which of them have been recovered (Stone 1993:68; Brown 1993:79). The emphasis at all times is that historical sources must be used by historical archaeologists, but within a critical approach (Beaudry 1993:3).

In view of the above, it should be stressed here that although the evidence of the three Parade-related inventories which have been looked at in detail allow for some interesting comparisons, at the same time, they are extremely limited. They have been used in this study with due recognition that "...probate inventories are texts that need careful interpretation... " and by setting the different sources of information against one another, "...the differing taphonomic filters of the ...sources become apparent" (Hall *et al* 1990:83).

In the process of this study, some interesting information has emerged. The extent of documentary evidence, much of which has, as yet barely been touched locally, includes those sources listed by Babits (1993:120): probates, wills, deeds, taxes, court records, indentures, letters, diaries, account books, baptism, marriage and death minutes, manuals, orderly books,

court martial records, impressment receipts and muster rolls. From the very start of this research project, historical maps have also been used to predict and identify the site from which the assemblage under study was excavated (Abrahams 1985; 1993). The multi-purpose use of these maps is obvious (Noël Hume 1980:24) and many further applications await to be tried within the local context.

18th century accounts

Important references relating to the 18th century social history context of the archaeological material can be found in travellers' accounts such as those of Francois Valentyn, Peter Kolbe, Otto Friedrich Mentzel, Nicolas Louis de la Caille, Carl Peter Thunberg, Francois le Vaillant and many others (Potgieter 1974).

Valentyn was an author and a clergyman employed by the Dutch East India Company, visiting the Cape on four occasions between 1685 and 1714 (Serton 1971:9). He published geographical and historical reviews of all the countries in which the Company was active, also dealing with descriptions of the Cape at the time, but often relying heavily on other authors' works. Although he visited the Cape for a total period of over six months only, and on four occasions, these visits were spread over a period of 29 years. Kolbe arrived at the Cape in 1705, commissioned to make observations in astronomy, which, according to some, he was not fit to do. Like Valentyn, his experiences are more relevant to the early part of the 18th century and are therefore of limited use in this study.

Mentzel, on the other hand, arrived at the Cape around 1733, and left through an unintentional incident in which he was transported back to the Netherlands in 1741 on a returning vessel (Potgieter 1974; Mandelbrote 1925). Of those travellers describing the Cape in the 18th century, only Kolbe had resided at the Cape as long as Mentzel. During his time at the Cape, Mentzel worked as a soldier of the VOC, as a clerk in the Company's timber store and as a teacher. Unlike

many of the other visitors, he was not a trained scientist limited by his work, but had ample opportunity to meet many different people. His books contain eye-witness accounts of this period, descriptions of sufficient detail for useful analogies in the archaeological interpretation of the ceramics. There was "nothing too trifling to escape his attention" (Mandelbrote 1925:xxi). Mentzel's work on the Cape, like those of others, is not without error, particularly through lapses of memory owing to the long interval between the time of his observations and much later publication after 1780, at the age of 78. However, on the whole, the mistakes do not impugn the value of his personal observations.

De la Caille, also known ordained as Abbe' de la Caille, remained at the Cape between 1751 and 1753 to study the stars of the southern hemisphere, an enormous task undertaken with great precision (Potgieter 1974). He was a French scientist of distinction, for whom Mentzel had a great respect, notwithstanding his comments that De la Caille was handicapped by his ignorance of Dutch and his narrow scientific perspective. De la Caille's short biographical sketches of the Cape and its peoples are however still of general interest (Mandelbrote 1925:xxi). Thunberg was a Swedish botanist who visited the Cape from 1772-1775 (Hattersley 1969:33;60). Although he is one of the personalities among botanical collectors at the Cape, he is best known for his books on his travels in Europe, Africa and Asia. His work, however, focuses more on the latter part of the 18th century (Potgieter 1974). Le Vaillant followed in similar footsteps, collecting plant and animal specimens throughout his travels at the Cape between 1781 and 1784, and his work does not have a major impact on this study.

Inventory information

From the use of inventory analysis, what has become quite clear is that information related to artefacts of copper, brass and wood are more reliably found in the inventories and information related to artefacts in ceramic is better represented in archaeological assemblages. The contrast is basically in the materials preserved, the inventory data being used as a measure of the lack of

completeness of the excavated assemblage (Brown 1993:79). Comparing the inventory versus the archaeological information potential of the earthenware and porcelain, for example, the archaeological evidence takes on a crucial role.

The impact of copper and brass utensils amply illustrates how the archaeological, inventory and historical data may be used collectively in interpretation. The use of copper is hardly reflected in the archaeological evidence, even though its influence in the food domain is undoubtedly considerable (Cook 1975:57). There are inherent difficulties in the identification, dating and provenancing of copper and brass artefacts in local collections, and "because of the scarcity of articles...one can by no means form a clear picture of the chronological development of shape or style, if any" (Le Roux 1981:29). The exchange of information between these categories of data, the copper evidence in the inventory data and the archaeological evidence of the earthenware, can be used to elicit otherwise inaccessible cultural information.

The shape and style of copper or brass utensils in the past was significantly determined by function, and it has been suggested that potters produced earthenware counterparts instead of metal prototypes to satisfy the middle-class market (Gaimster and Verhaeghe 1992:317). The locally-produced earthenware forms and their metal prototypes therefore represent an interchanging relationship and their significance in the producer, consumer and market economies is an interesting field of inquiry, as yet untapped.

The question of cutlery has come to the fore in the inventories and this ties in with the sophistication of table etiquette. How developed was this in the mid-18th century Cape? It has been proposed (Woodward 1982:208) that there was a notable increase in the use of cutlery, but was this really the case? Certainly, even at fashionable pre-wedding parties, the entire range of serviettes, plates, knives and forks were handed out by slaves (Mentzel 1925:120).

The Parade inventories have indicated an almost equal emphasis on spoons and forks, each of

which are found in near double proportion to the knives listed in the data. This might suggest that, like the 17th century custom, a knife could be carried as a personal possession, used when the occasion called for it. This possibility is supported by the fact that a knife was specifically included, along with a spoon, among the personal possessions of each enlisted recruit in the VOC (Mentzel 1919:21). Hattersley has also noted the conspicuous absence of table knives, which he presumes indicates that guests were expected to supply their own (1969:52).

The emphasis on spoons in the inventories and bowls in the archaeological assemblage relate to the types of meals being served. These artefacts are indicative of the basic rice and cereal dishes which made up the "spoon-food" like that supplied in hospitals (Hattersley 1969:17) and the more stewey-type dishes, with rice and gravy, possibly tending more to the eastern cooking style. Later it will be shown that other evidence supports this view and comments of 18th and 19th century narrators are relevant in this regard.

Forks in the Parade inventories show up as relatively important in household effects and this may certainly mark a step forward in eating refinement, "...but does not mean that the fingers were no longer in use" (Woodward 1982:136; 206). On the contrary, the preponderance of napkins in the local 18th century inventories indicates the continued use of the fingers in the consumption of meals. It was customary at the Cape to keep hats on heads while eating, a habit which gave rise to the saying, "do not touch your hat at meals lest you stain it", indicating the condition of greasy fingers (Mentzel 1925:106).

The cutlery in the Parade inventories is mostly in silver, which seems to suggest that meal-times were treated as occasions with special graces, normally with a special tradition to suit. This is further evidenced by a mixture of porcelain and silver used in the consumption of food, supported by the Parade inventories, a tendency which appears to have been on the increase, judging from the analysis of other probate records (Malan 1993:180). But this still begs the question, what was this meal-time tradition at the Cape? This will be discussed in further detail in the sub-sections of

this chapter dealing with food and beverage consumption and the associated table setting, but suffice it to say here that the use of inventory and other documentary information is pivotal to the discussion.

The "galdery" and/or "voorhuis" began to function partly as a dining room in the 18th century. The "galdery" was the main venue for family and guest interaction (Malan 1993:66-69; Mentzel 1925:112). It was used particularly for dining together, but also for other domestic activities by the family, servants and slaves. The contents of the "galdery" were prominently displayed, some in cupboards built into the walls and others on racks.

To set the scene, the contents of the Van Sittert "galdery", inventorized in 1772, is described. It contained four racks of porcelain plates, teaware and shaving basins on the walls as well as bracket candle-sticks and two wall-cupboards with copper, porcelain, pewter and glass ware. On a table there was a kettle, chafing dish, coffee and teapots and teaware. The "galdery" of Johan Prins, also in the Table Valley, was almost identically furnished in 1773. By the 19th century, however, British tablewares, which had largely taken over in fashion, were more generally banished to the pantries but silver-ware was still kept on display (Malan 1993:179).

The kitchen was the only room with a hearth during the 18th century Cape. It was associated with the usual equipment used in food processing (Cook 1975). The Parade inventories (Table 7) include water cans and buckets, a grater, a funnel, pestles with mortars, cleavers, a chopping knife with a board, an "overkeerbort", grids, tongs, a blowpipe, chimney chains, a trivet, coffee mills, a rice block and a chopping board. Cooking vessels were mostly in copper, such as the numerous specialized pans including tart pans, "poffer"pans, skimmer pans, a baking pan and long-handled pans, one of which was a frying pan. Other copper vessels were kettles/cauldrons or boilers, a colander, casseroles and an ewer with iron feet. The aforementioned indicates the wealth of material culture to be considered, not represented in the archaeological assemblage.

In direct contrast to the representation of cooking pots in the assemblage, most of the pots listed in the Parade inventories were made of iron, the commonly encountered "set of large iron cooking pots" noted by Malan (1993:69). The archaeological evidence is more explicit in only one domain here, and that is when it comes to the so-called "aardewerk in zoort" which has been found to encompass a large variety of cooking pots with fitted lids, colanders, bowls, pans and saucepans or skillets, found in the archaeological assemblage (Table 2.2).

Illicit imports

Apart from the locally-produced earthenware, the availability of ceramics at the Cape during the mid-18th century was mainly a function of the global supply and demand system monopolized by the VOC and subsequently taken over by the British in the 19th century. Both the Dutch and the British introduced laws to curtail privateering in merchandise, but these were notoriously ineffective (Glamann 1958:238; Hattersley 1969:16;22; Laidler 1952:58; Mentzel 1925:78-97; Penn 1986:5; Volker 1959:4-7).

In Chapter 4 outlining the chronological history of ceramics at the Cape, the impact of illicit trade in ceramics has been noted. It is difficult to assess exactly what effect this activity had on the importation of ceramics, particularly because of the secretive nature of the subject. However, the probate data indicate the occurrence of non-standard goods imported through private trade (Malan 1993:149;176; Woodward 1974:161-166;173). Unrecorded legitimate and contraband merchandise were brought to the Cape and no record can be found of such imports. However, auction lists and household inventories provide evidence in this regard.

If parallels were to be drawn with smuggling in New England in the mid-18th century, then the ceramic finds illustrate that the documentary record of importation is only a fragmentary and limited view of trade activities (Schmidt and Mrozowski 1993:32-42). The archaeological signatures of smuggling and the inventory and auction list sales are therefore important

considerations and future work in this direction is recommended.

The methodological framework of this study is defined by the questions being posed, and the questions in this study are of a much broader nature, focussing on foodways in general. Consequently, the framework includes artefacts represented in the excavated assemblage as well as those represented in the inventories in ceramic and other forms which have resulted in the availability of new information. Through bridging the interface between the archaeological, inventory and documentary evidence, the changing relationships between the data can be evaluated.

Local cuisine

Needless to say, the cosmopolitan nature of the 17th and 18th century Cape had a concomitant effect on the origins of Cape cookery. In Chapter 3, on the "Features of Cape Cultural History", the chronological development resulting in the merging of various cultural groups at the Cape, has been described. The interchange of various cultural traits is what has ultimately produced a unique cultural character distinctive of the mid-18th century Cape. It is also around this time that the "essentially Cape Dutch form" of the Cape townhouse parlour is described as having come to full flowering (Woodward 1983c:12).

The most striking feature of Cape cultural history is the complicated way in which "syncretic cultural complexes " (Elphick and Shell 1979:155-169) have emerged. It is suggested that the emphasis in cultural patterning during the 18th century was no longer between ethnic or status groups but rather between regions, the interior and the Cape, the latter being significantly more cosmopolitan and the former persisting in conservatism (Malan 1993:189; Mentzel 1944:108).

The context of this cultural identity of the mid-18th century has been outlined in Chapter 3. It was rooted in the preceding century in which various Asian, European and indigenous Khoikhoi cultures merged sandwiched by an earlier phase which was characteristically more dependant on the Dutch East India Company, and a later phase evidenced by the transitional period of government from Dutch to British rule, followed by incorporation of the country into the British Empire.

In Chapter 3 of this study it has also been argued that a relatively homogenous culture had emerged by the mid-18th century at the Cape (Penn 1986:4; Walker 1959:54). Probate data have been shown to support this view that "... Cape colonists had built up their own identity within the Dutch East India Company dominions by the mid-18th century" (Malan 1993:80;174), despite the polarization of differences between town and countryside. However, in both town and country households, the lives of the families, servants, slaves and indigenous people were intertwined and materially interdependent.

To return to the discussion on local foodways, a great deal more research needs to be done on indigenous cookery, methods of food preparation, recipes etc of the contact period. The use of local "veldkos", indigenous crops, seafood and game, to mention a few, has obvious local connotations and these, in turn, would most certainly have had an influence on the VOC foodway tradition of the 17th and 18th centuries. Moreover, as so aptly put by Leipoldt,

> "... every nation has borrowed freely, often with unblushing audacity, from that of every other nation, and that only where it has succeeded in impressing its own stamp on its cooking technique, by the practise of local methods and the employment of local foodstuffs, can it be said to have reached the level that merits a distinctive territorial adjective " (1976:14).

Cape cookery owes much to local, Dutch, Flemish, English, German, French, Italian, Portuguese and especially Asian foodways. Presumably many of the food preparation and consumption habits were influenced by the Netherlands and, in this discussion, reference will therefore be made to the

Dutch techniques, particularly where there are gaps in the available information. However, it is evident from the cultural historical background of the Cape that the dependance on cultural strings with, and economic monopoly of, the VOC headquarters in the Netherlands was beginning to wane at a rapid pace by the mid-18th century. Around this time there are indications of a more homogenous, stronger, conservative Cape society than before, consisting of a new generation of locally-born individuals (Penn 1986:4; Walker 1959:54-82). This period is of particular interest because these cultural conditions are conducive to the emergence of vernacular trends, discernable from the archaeological ceramics presented in this study.

The particular emphasis of the functional divisions of the ceramics in this study has been on the storage, processing or preparation and consumption of food and the use of various ceramics in the assemblage will therefore be considered within these categories.

Storage

In the Parade assemblage, ceramic storage vessels are mostly represented by stoneware types, but further evidence of local habits has become apparent from the inventory analysis previously discussed, and items such as yellowwood flour bins and a variety of other kitchen utensils have been mentioned (Coetzee 1977:59; Cook 1975:43-108). An assortment of buckets, vats or "balies" was in general use, and these are also evident in the inventories. They were generally used for pickling, butter, tea and water, but also conceivably for the storage of dried foods.

In the Netherlands, stoneware vessels continued to be imported in the 18th century (Museum Boymans van Beuningen 1991:221), and, like those found at the Cape, these came mostly from Germany, Frechen, Westerwald, Langerwehe and the region bordering on the Netherlands. They were mainly used for liquids and preserves.

A vast number of old martavans are found in local private and museum collections and in local

displays, but these are nearly impossible to separate into old imports contemporaneous with their age, and those imported more recently. Dating these pots is also extremely problematic. Woodward (1974:141-160) is emphatic in her suggestion that many of the answers regarding the martavan collections should be sought from the archaeological evidence. The archaeological evidence on martavans could provide further information on the shipment and storage of food and, if this was practised locally, the use of martavans in funerary contexts. The sample indicates a shortage rather than an abundance of these vessels, supporting the local records.

The pantry seems only to have appeared at the Cape from the middle to the end of the 18th century (Coetzee 1977:70; Cook 1975:38). It is interesting to note what was found in one of these pantries, indicating the extent of agriculture, viticulture and horticultural practise at the Cape. Although others such as Anderson (1971), have supported their foodways studies by detailed investigation of these practices, it is beyond the scope of this thesis. Suffice it to say, however, that much has been written about this in Mentzel for example (1944:157-199), and further scrutiny of documents such as this would without question lend further insight to the topic.

Returning to the discussion of the pantry, it is rather opportune that the contents of the pantry of Joachim von Dessin, secretary to the Orphan Chamber, have been described in detail. This may be considered to represent a fairly well-to-do Cape household, again with the convenient date of 1754. A well-stocked pantry is indicated, with 6 hams, 200 pounds of salted beef, 150 pounds of salted speck, 150 pounds of dripping and 80 pounds of butter as well as 13 muids of wheat, 2 muids of flour, one-and-a-half muids of green peas, one-and-a-half muids of yellow peas, one-and-a-half muids of white beans, two thirds of a muid of broad beans, 250 pounds of barley, 100 pounds of rice, brown beans, black beans, Madagascar beans, princess beans, sago and groats; also including 274 pounds of coffee beans, 34 pounds of castor sugar, 150 pounds of lump sugar or "theezuiker" also known as "klontgezuiker" described as sugar cubes kept in the mouth while drinking tea (Coetzee 1977:70).

The spices in Von Dessin's pantry included 38 pounds of black pepper, 7 pounds of white pepper, 31 pounds of tamarind, coriander, mustard and cumin seeds and an assortment of other spices. Additional items listed were a small sack of Japanese rice, 7 bottles of English olives pickled in brine, 18 pounds of currants, 6000 almonds, preserved plums, a half-aum of coconut oil, a "bierpijp" of white vinegar and 400 bottles of imported and Cape wine.

When one considers the archaeological assemblage represented, it is conceivable that eathenware pots, which are very multi-purpose in their functions, could have been used for storage purposes such as for dripping or fat and numerous other foodstuff (Coetzee 1977:69). Mentzel described the way in which game and mutton were preserved by rubbing in salt, cloves and pepper and then roasting it in iron pots (1925:104). After this, the meat was transferred to earthenware pots, presumably such as the large basins with lids found in the assemblage, in which it appears to have been stored, completely covered in melted fat. Dried fish and vegetables such as onions and garlic did not require containers, but could be hung from the roof beams and could therefore leave no trace in the archaelogical evidence.

The extensive list of goods quoted from Von Dessin's pantry shows that the archaeological evidence for food storage is totally inadequate. Food was preserved and stored to cover the lean periods, particularly when the goods from the Company ships were not available, and this was obviously a very important consideration at the time. The containers for storage are only hinted at in both the archaeological and the written record. Without the aforementioned type of listing of goods preserved and stored, crucial information about the types of ingredients which ultimately went onto the tables and into the cooking pots, would be missing.

Food preparation/processing

Food preservation:

Salted, smoked and dried meat and fish have obvious importance here, and these needed long

periods of soaking to make the food palatable again. Vast quantities of fish were caught in drag-nets (Mentzel 1925:89;102). When the catch was good, the stumpnose, such as that represented in the sample, could be bought at two stuivers for a bundle of 10 to 12. They were either boiled or fried, presumably in iron or the earthenware pots, cauldrons, skillets or pans. Excess quantities were dried or pickled.

Imported foods were perforce either salted, smoked or dried (Mentzel 1925:89;102). It was common for Dutch ships to bring hams, tongues, salmon, stockfish, cod, plaice, herrings, bloaters, sweetmilk cheese and spiced cheese. Since it appears that pickled pork could only be purchased from the Company's stores, this was another item which was gladly received off the ships. These items of food are described as a welcome change to the fresh mutton of everyday life at the Cape. De la Caille, who travelled at the Cape between 1751 and 1753, described the situation as follows,

> "Although fresh meat and fish are very cheap at Cape, the Dutch take no pleasure but in salted or smoked meat or fish, or even dried fish which they eat lightly grilled with much pepper and bread soaked in hot water. The women are particularly fond of achards (atjars), that is to say vegetables or fruits salted and preserved in vinegar, with an abundance of spices. I was a guest at several banquets where the main dishes were hard, yellow stocfish (dried codfish) and half putrid European ham with the fat entirely yellow and rancid. Everyone carefully avoided the fresh foods, which were served in profusion, but merely to make up the number of the dishes...the finest gifts that can be given by the Captains of the ships that touch at the Cape are pieces of beef salted in Europe for the food of the crews; and the blacker these are, the more they are liked by the Dutch" (Raven-Hart 1976:29).

The inclination by the local Dutch inhabitants for preserved foods is discussed by Mentzel who proposes that these were preferred on special occasions because they were different to the everyday fresh mutton to which they were accustomed (1925:102). He points out that De la Caille was confusing corned beef with smoked ham, both being dark in colour when heavily smoked to preserve them against the effects of the tropical heat during long sea voyages.

Corned beef was another speciality with which the VOC took great pains (Mentzel 1925:103). Hundreds of fat oxen are described as having been slaughtered during the autumn and winter months for this purpose, cut into portions and the joints then pickled and heavily seasoned with pepper, cloves, bay leaves and juniper berries. Smoked meats of the Cape are described by Mentzel as compatible to the best from Germany. More generally though, local beef was considered inferior to European beef, and it would appear that most of the beef was salted, then smoked or dried and later, to make it palatable again, it was boiled (Mentzel 1944:202). Beef was otherwise nearly always pot-roasted, boiled, pickled or dried (Leipoldt 1976:67).

Dried sausages, pickled meat and biltong, which was either wind-dried or sometimes placed in the chimney to speed up the drying process, developed out of this practice of preserving meat with salt, vinegar and spices (Coetzee 1977:68; Mentzel 1919:130; 1944:114). Side dishes, such as certain of those included in Joachim von Dessin's pantry, pumpkins, dried beans and grain could be stored. Fruits were preserved with salt or brandy, and it may be assumed that the containers were earthenware vessels such as those represented in the sample. Many of the other preserved foods could be stored in perishable containers such as tubs, vats barrels and hung on hooks and hangers, all of which are indicated in the inventories. Here again, if only the archaeological evidence were used, this information would not be taken into account.

Influence of the Dutch?

Apart from preserved foods, it is presumed that, like most cooking in the Netherlands in the 17th and up to the mid-18th century, open fires or hearths were used (Museum Boymans-van Beuningen 1991:169-227). From the time the British took over at the end of the 18th century, however, the settlement took on a new face. With particular reference to cooking, it was recommended by Lady Anne Barnard (Robinson 1973:56) that, "coud coals be brought out they would answer well also some grates & portable Kitchens - whover means to settle here shoud bring everything ..." , even "polished stoves", all forming part of the new-look British interior (Malan 1993:179).

Changes in the foodway furniture and utensils are evidenced by differences in the foodway tradition, and this was noted in 1799 by Samual Hudson,

> "English cookery has in a great measure banished the delicious Ragous sent up in a sea of sheeps tail fat which usually was the sauce for every dish..." (quoted in Malan 1993:179).

"Ragous" refers to small pieces of meat stewed with vegetables and seasoning. Seasoning and the sauce which, for all intents and purposes, was more than likely of East Indian taste (Leipoldt 1976:31;89), was also subject to change in the 19th century.

> "The victuals at the Dutch houses are latterly much better dressed, a great deal of that stinking butter and grease left out, and at least two or three dishes roasted and boiled 'a la mode Angloise'..." (Percival 1804:267).

The perceived contrast in foodways was therefore significant to observers of Cape society, eliciting a number of comments crucial to a better understanding of the social interactions taking place at the time.

Returning to the Dutch style of the 18th century, frying and roasting were done in skillets or dishes and spit-roasting was accompanied by the indispensable dripping pan (Museum Boymans-van Beuningen 1991:169-227). The choice of kitchen and other tableware materials included wood, pewter, bronze, brass, copper, iron, natural stone and, most important of all for identification in the archaeological remains, porcelain, earthenware and stoneware.

Compatible in certain ways with the local earthenware assemblage, pots, pans, cauldrons etc in glazed wares were used in the Netherlands (Museum Boymans-van Beuningen 1991:174-227). They served mainly for cooking thick soups, hotpots, fresh or salted fish and meat, eggs, greens, pulses, parsnips and turnips, mussels and buckwheat recipes in the Netherlands in the 17th century. In the following century more plain cooking included recipes such as sweet wheatmeal

porridge, buttermilk groats or a gruel of pearl barley and milk. The latter was often served with syrup and fried bacon. A mixture with egg and apple was cooked in earthenware frying pans. A typical item of the 18th century in the Netherlands was the spouted bowl or cream-maker, none of which have been identified from remains in the sample (Abrahams 1994:40; Olivier 1992:1-12). These wide-mouthed bowls allowed cream to form on the surface of the milk and they were used to add liquid to batter mixtures. They were also used for making sauces and custards which became increasingly popular during the 18th century.

It is quite conceivable, given the utilitarian multi-purpose function of many of the wide-mouthed earthenware dishes or bowls in the Parade assemblage, that these items fulfilled this function. They particularly tend to resemble what are referred to as "milk pans" illustrated in Beaudry *et al* (1983:35). On the other hand, Mentzel (1944:206) described some of the problems associated with the availability of fresh butter and milk, especially in the town area, and this will be discussed in more detail in the faunal section later in this chapter (1944:206). What is of interest here, though, is the fact that this shortage of milk is reflected in items lacking in the earthenware assemblage, and that this in turn more than likely had an effect on the development of differences in cuisine, particularly relating to batter mixtures, sauces and custards.

A few cows were brought in with their calves from the cattle farms, since the cows only produced milk while the calves were sucking, and returned thereafter (Mentzel 1944:206). Fresh milk was poured into butter-vats and left to stand for a few days. But in addition to milk being in short supply, cooling facilities were lacking and, apart from the Company's coopers and potters, the necessary items such as vats, buckets and milk pails, were apparently not freely available. Good quality buttermilk was considered to be more important than the production of butter. Buttermilk was also used for making local cheese which was described as of inferior quality (Raven-Hart 1976:30).

Apart from the well-known centre of pottery production at Bergen op Zoom, many of the

earthenwares were imported into the Netherlands, and possibly in common with the Cape, green and yellow glazed wares came from Germany or Belgium (Museum Boymans-van Beuningen 1991:174-220). Later on, however, they were also produced in the Netherlands from imported clays. By the 19th century, lead-glazed earthenware was banished to the kitchen and cellar in the Netherlands and only the poorer households continued to use these cheaper wares instead of cast iron and tin vessels. It remains to be seen if this was the case at the Cape.

Given the basic Dutch background, the most potent influence on the local cuisine was the methods, tastes and culinary customs of the Malay cooks brought directly from Java in the early part of the 18th century (Leipoldt 1976:17). Asian influence was predominant in Cape cookery and many of the ingredients for preparing these dishes were imported. However, contrary to common perception, this is an area requiring much more thorough, systematic research. For example, although it is commonly assumed that the development of the local cuisine is rooted in the East, there has been no research of an academic nature to investigate the exact links of these cultural ties.

Reference to Asian cooks and cooking is sometimes ambiguous, in that the presence of exiles from Batavia is mentioned, but they referred to as Chinese who eat with chopsticks (Mentzel 1925:91;92). In the footnotes the references to Chinese are questioned as indicating Malays. Sometimes they are written about more generally as Orientals or Asiatics, but either way, they are described as good cooks and expert fishermen. Their speciality was the "kerri-kerri" dish of fried or pickled fish or cubes of mutton with boiled rice, which was well-favoured by soldiers, sailors and slaves. In addition to this, seafood was collected, prepared and sold by Oriental cooks and they ran small eating houses where tea and coffee were also served, specifically described as under meticulously clean conditions. Their own meals consisted of meat or fish which were cut into small pieces in the Eastern style. It would therefore not be surprising if this was also eaten from the coarse porcelain bowls which were so popular in the South East Asian countries.

Cookery books:

The oldest known cookery book in South Africa was written by Johanna van Riebeeck, granddaughter of Jan van Riebeeck (Coetzee 1977:105). But this little book focussed more generally on the preparation of food suitable for long sea journeys. This was followed by a hand-written cookery book dated 1819 by a widow called Blanckenberg. This book is interesting in that it depicts the influence of English cookery at the turn of the century. Apart from this, the first collection of local Cape recipes was only printed in the 1870's in Natal, in the form of a pamphlet, and it contained nothing peculiarly South African (Leipoldt 1976:19).

The following publication entitled "Cape Cookery" by Miss A.G.Hewitt (1889), was a much more authoritative little book of many local recipes, subdivided under five headings dealing with fish, meat and poultry, sweet dishes, preserves and, lastly, a number of miscellaneous recipes. In general, however, the recipes have nearly all been found to be variations of similar ones in vogue in Europe and the East at the time, save for the use of local ingredients and improvements through the skills and experience of Cape cooks (Leipoldt 1976:12). But even the novelty of local ingredients is questioned by De la Caille, who states that most of the vegetables and fruits are good at the Cape and although found in abundance, are nonetheless very dear (Raven-Hart 1976:29). However,

> "All these fruits and vegetables have been introduced at the Cape, and there is nothing unique or indigenous, except the Hottentot Fig, the Hottentot Grape and certain other seed-fruits which the Hottentots eat when they find them," (Raven-Hart 1976:29).

But in Cape cookery, under the influence of Oriental techniques, the methods primarily used for cooking were boiling, roasting, baking and grilling or broiling (Leipoldt 1976:25). There were local differences in the application of certain of the basic cooking techniques. Boiling was done either by immersing the foodstuff in cold water and bringing this to the boil so as to extract as much of the soluble food as possible, or by immersing the food into boiling water to make it more palatable. Any of the cooking pots in the sample may have been used for this purpose.

Roasting, as in spit-roasting, was used occasionally during festivities, but more seldom in the larger town houses, being a more labourious, expensive technique requiring whole oxen or sheep or good quality meat (Coetzee 1977:92; 108; Leipoldt 1976:25). The associated dripping pan commonly found on overseas Dutch sites is conspicuously absent in the Parade assemblage, and this presents further evidence that spit-roasting was less frequently used locally.

Grilling directly over the embers on a spit or a grid, was a favourite method of preparing meats, fish and some vegetables, imparting the aromatic flavour of the smoke (Leipoldt 1976:27). The traditional "sosaties" (marinated mutton cubes) were mostly grilled on an open fire in the field when undertaking a long journey (Coetzee 1977:109). Game such as buck were often roasted on expeditions, under glowing coals (Mentzel 1919:101). Grilling and roasting as described by Mentzel, would leave very little imprint on the ceramic assemblage, excépt for the use of serving vessels, possibly such as the dishes and large basins in the sample.

Pot-roasting in a pot with a lid, however, became more popular locally for meat of indifferent quality. Local modifications included "smooring" (smothering), "smoorbraai" (stew-roasting) or braising (stewing as used for cooking " bredies" which are combinations of meat and vegetables intimately stewed) (Cook 1975:43; Leipoldt 1976:27). "Simmering" involved drawing a pot of food which had been brought to the boil to a cooler position on the hearth to blend over a prolonged, continuous, steady, gentle heat, such as required in "bredies". Stewing and steaming, as applied to fish, were often used by the Cape cook. Most of the food processing equipment in the sample, such as the pots, cauldrons, skillets, pans, pipkins, saucepans and colanders, would have been useful in these forms of cooking. The numerous lids in the assemblage form an indispensable part of these cooking techniques in addition to the colanders, casseroles and iron cooking pots indicated in the inventories (Table 7).

Baking, frying and sautéeing was done much in the same way as elsewhere (Leipoldt 1976:27). According to De la Caille, both masters and slaves generally ate the same bread (Raven-Hart

1976:31). Wheat farming produced little profit due to heavy transport expenses. According to him, the flour was not well-refined and sifted so that the local bread was described as mostly "dark, heavy and greasy". On the other hand, Mentzel describes the products of the Cape bakeries to have been of the highest order (1925:84;143). He contests De la Caille's views and maintains that the "boer bread" was tastier and more nourishing than the rye-bread of Amsterdam and that most of the bread sold in town was baked from the finest white flour. According to Mentzel, three varieties were sold: rolls of the finest flour, ordinary white loaves and whole-meal bread.

Bread and cakes were usually baked, either directly on the floor or in bread tins, in pots or in yellowwood baking troughs in brick or clay ovens, or in holes dug out in ant heaps on farms (Coetzee 1977:59). Only the mixing basins for bread were conceivably of the earthenware types represented in the assemblage under study, and the evidence of tart pans, "poffer" pans and other baking pans in the inventories (Table 7) seems to suggest similarities with the contemporary Dutch cuisine which included egg and batter mixtures. Eggs were plentiful at the Cape and a variety of egg-dishes was made, but only a few milk dishes, due to the shortage of milk (Mentzel 1944:108). Certain bakers specialized in sweetmeats such as cakes, pastries and other confectionaries, depending on a good harvest in corn (Mentzel 1925:84).

Other earthenware items in the assemblage could have been used for sweet potatoes, pumpkin and "bobotie" (a minced meat dish covered with a mixture of milk, eggs and curry powder) which were roasted in the oven (Leipoldt 1976:27). Deep fat frying was generally confined to town houses while shallow frying pans were used on farms, both including the use of batter. Very few earthenware artefacts in the sample directly indicate the practice of frying such as in the case of the single earthenware frying pan in the assemblage (Table 7).

Marinade was essential for "soesaties" and certain kinds of fish (Leipoldt 1976:28). Old recipes insisted on larding, using the point of a knife to insert fat into beef and game. Extracts, herbs, some of which were locally grown in the Company Gardens, and spices, imported from the East

Indies, were used from the start of the settlement (Mentzel 1921:120) and the latter is clearly indicated stocked up in the pantry of Von Dessin.

Local example:

A passage from Mentzel describes the typical daily procedure in the Company Hospital and this is quoted here for the information which it contains regarding the type of food prepared and the manner in which it was eaten, relevant to the archaeological sample,

> "After the doctor has left a slave brings in a copper kettle with coffee for the patients; for one stuiver a slop-basin full could be obtained. At 9 o'clock the porter rings the bell and upon this signal the slaves bring in the morning meal. The rations for three persons are contained in each earthenware bowl. Daily except Fridays each person receives half-a-pound of mutton boiled with rice and vegetable; on Fridays beef is given instead of mutton. Six pounds of army bread is distributed every three days for the three persons who mess together. At three o'clock in the afternoon the bell is rung again for meals. On this occasion the seriously ill are given a thick soup made of flour and red wine and water sweetened with sugar, and on Fridays, if they have no appetite for beef, a mutton stew, called kerri-kerri, is given instead...About 4 o'clock the doctor visits all the wards again and, after his departure, the Warden sends a slave with a kettle of tea, which may be purchased by the inmates in like manner as the coffee in the morning " (Mentzel 1921:112).

Such things as omelettes, pancakes, a kerri-kerri (prepared with fish), jams and preserves, some fruits like guavas, and 'karre-milk' (buttermilk) were allowed to be sold to the patients. Red wine could sometimes be sold but white wine and brandy was prohibited to the invalids. The quoted passage contains a great deal of information. Firstly, it should be noted that coffee was consumed at breakfast and tea was drunk in the afternoons. The use of many of the larger porcelain bowls in the assemblage, especially the brown glazed variety, as slop-basins for both coffee and tea in this context is conceivable. Earthenware bowls were used for serving/consuming meals and since these were shared among three persons, the medium-sized variety contained in the assemblage was probably the sort of item used for this purpose. It is interesting to note here that communal eating was still practised, albeit on a smaller scale among three persons only, within the context of the hospital.

The typical mutton stew with rice and vegetables, as described in the Cape "bredies", emerges again here. Beef is noted as a change to the routine mutton of the week. There are no indications of what is meant by "army bread", except that it may have been of the heavier, more coarse variety referred to in connection with the water-mill where all the grain was ground (Mentzel 1921:118). The thick soup given to the more seriously ill reminds one of caudle, a warm drink of sweetened or spiced ale or wine drunk in Europe by the sick, especially women at childbirth, before tea or coffee became popular. From the passage quoted, it seems to have been made of flour in the local situation and according to Woodward (1982:218), could be drunk from any handleless bowl.

The so-called kerri-kerri is described as a mutton or fish dish spiced with burri-burri and tamarind, and stewed with fried rice (Mentzel 1921:112). The mutton was first boiled and cut up into small pieces before it was stewed with the rice which had been fried in butter or tail fat, all in all, producing " a most appetising dish ". It seems that the mutton could be replaced by fish and was equally marketable, sold by the burghers to the hospital inmates. The sale of other items, such as the omelettes, pancakes, jams and preserves, guavas and buttermilk, indicate what was available and popular among the Company servants at the time.

But to return to the question - do the excavated ceramics lend insight into what, as described above, was supposedly the local method of food preparation and the types of food consumed? The ceramics available for preparing meals, from the sample, were the pots or cauldrons, pipkins, saucepans, skillets or pans, colanders and lids. What is immediately apparent is that the material culture evidence is distinctly limited, but as discussed earlier, can be augmented through documentary and inventory evidence. Specialized vessels, such as creamers mentioned earlier, are either not recognizable in the fragmented sample or they are missing from the assemblage.

But what emerges from this discussion is a pattern of self-sufficiency and adaptability, making do with what was available, also expressed by the use of wild fauna, the initiation of local pottery

manufacture and extensive local food production, vegetable and grain cultivation and viticulture. And this attitude is impressed by what Mentzel quotes as a favourite saying at the Cape,

> "If you learn a thing, you can do it; necessity knows no law; one cannot always obtain necessities in this country " (1944:106).

Faunal evidence

The Parade faunal sample identified consists of 1256 identified bone fragments representing a minimum number of 95 individuals calculated using the computer programme described by Cruz-Uribe and Klein (1984) (Appendix B). Twenty three species are represented. This, however, is only a portion of the excavated faunal assemblage under study by Graham Avery of the South African Museum, taken from sections excavated within the moat (J3b) which surrounded the Fort, sections excavated inside the Fort terrain (C5/C4) and material salvaged from the trenches (Block A) dug by the Cape Town City Council. Deposits from the excavated areas were sieved but those salvaged from disturbed areas were not. This, and the small sample size, places constraints on interpretations. On the other hand, bone preservation on the Parade site is generally extremely good and this is an obvious asset in using it in interpretation.

The faunal results from three other sites which have been published are available and will be drawn into this discussion for comparison. Martin Hall has noted observations from preliminary reports on the fish, bird, mammalian and marine assemblages excavated at the Castle in Cape Town (Hall *et al* 1990:22-37). These observations are important here, especially in terms of the latter site's location directly next to the Grand Parade on the east-side. The next site in question is the 18th century house complex at Paradise in Newlands Forest, Cape Town (Avery 1989:114-116; Hall *et al* 1993). The third site is at Oudepost I, an outpost of the VOC which lies approximately 120 km north of Cape Town along the west coast region, occupied from about

1669 to 1732 (Cruz-Uribe and Schrire 1991; Schrire 1990; 1989).

The faunal remains from the Parade comprise a mixture of wild and domesticated animals. Twenty three species are represented of which the bulk are mammals (60 individuals) followed by birds (25 individuals), frogs and tortoises (6 individuals) and fish (4 individuals). Unlike the dense shell middens of indigenous people located along the coastal regions of the Western Cape (Parkington 1976; Parkington and Hall 1987; Phillipson 1977), shellfish remains from this site are much more sparse but these will also be discussed in this study (Appendix C).

Wild species

The faunal listing for the Parade includes a number of wild species. Small ungulates are represented by grysbok, steenbok and the common duiker. Larger ungulates are not represented. Non-carnivorous mammals are represented by the Cape hare. Small carnivores include the African wild cat and no large carnivores are present. Marine mammals are represented by a Southern Elephant seal.

Shellfish are represented by brown mussels, limpets, black mussels, periwinkles and oysters; birds by the Jackass penguin, albatross, a shearwater or petrel and greywing francolin; fish by a probable white stumpnose and an unidentified large species. The Parade shellfish remains contrast mainly with those from the Castle in that brown mussels and limpets are more common at the former site. There is mention in the historical record of "strange dishes" presented at the 18th century Cape table and these include a stew called "klip kos" made of a large Venus-ear shellfish, sea-cat soup and mussels picked from the rocks below Lion's Head (Laidler 1952:77). The angulate tortoise, which occurs on most local sites, was probably eaten (Avery 1992:42). It is possible that the goose/swan and the ducks were domesticated. Bones of frogs probably originate from the moat.

The main contrast in the assemblages from Oudepost I on the one hand and the Parade, the Castle and Paradise on the other hand are that the former appears to be much more varied and includes wild animals in greater abundance than domesticates. The Oudepost I material precedes the Parade assemblage in age and on the basis of this, apart from regional variation, some interesting chronological comparisons can be made. It would appear from the Parade sample that by the mid-18th century, the sources of wild species had been considerably depleted in the direct vicinity of Cape Town, and this is supported by the written record (Mentzel 1925:101;103; 1944:215).

Transportation of the "bag" in a condition fit for consumption precluded huntsman from going too far afield. And the "high odour" of game which has taken several days to bring into town, is said to account for it not having been much in favour (Mentzel 1925:101-103). It is interesting to note here that the game mostly represented in the Parade assemblage (Appendix B), is of species which have been described as remaining the commonest near the town (Raven-Hart 1976:31). These include the sea-birds, possibly wild ducks and geese, buck, hares and fish. Steenbok are described as the most tasty of the lot and these are also one of the most common species in the assemblage.

Even though hunting was regulated through numerous promulgations and permits by the VOC (Cruz-Uribe and Schrire 1991:103; Laidler 1952:97; Mentzel 1925:101), as with illicit trade in ceramics, it was not possible to enforce these laws. Consequently, hunting remained an integral part of daily subsistence, especially out of town. The mid-18th century list of wild fauna from the Parade assemblage does not reflect what was originally available in the area in the 17th century (Cruz-Uribe and Schrire 1991) nor does it come close to the list of different types of meat offered for sale at the Cape at the time (Leibbrandt 1901:151).

A price list of meat in the 18th-century at the Cape, fixed by the VOC, shows that other wild species, including the larger ungulates such as Hartebeest, Eland, Rhinoceros and Hippopotamus, were available but there is no information on quantity (Coetzee 1977:33; Hall 1992:393). The

prices, it would appear, even if these species were not readily available, were deliberately or otherwise, kept below those of the more common domesticates such as sheep and cattle. The problem of availability is illustrated by the fact that, already before mid-18th century, the Governor's huntsmen were forced into the interior after game for his kitchen and table and distances of 24 German miles or 120 English miles are quoted (Mentzel 1919:38-43; 1925:101; 1944:215).

Seals were culled for their oil, fur, skin and meat in the 17th century and this was continued into the 18th century (Cruz-Uribe and Schrire 1991:101; Mentzel 1925:139; Serton *et al* 1971:43; Thom 1952:175; Valentyn 1973:125). At this time, seal colonies along the Cape coastal waters were extensively exploited by Europeans and the flesh of seals is referred to as "the usual food of the Company's slaves"(Raven-Hart 1971:26), which may be useful in future identification of slave areas. Seals are also common in Later Stone Age assemblages of the area (Klein and Cruz-Uribe 1989; Parkington and Hall 1987). The single Southern Elephant seal represented in the Parade sample is of interest as a record, but cannot be used as unambiguous evidence for use of this species by indigenous Khoisan or settlers. Although individual elephant seal fragments are periodically recorded on the west coast, this is far removed from the southern ocean islands on which they normally occur and where they were normally culled by sealers, one of whom may have brought the tooth the Cape as a memento (Avery pers comm).

The same applies to tortoise in the local diet. Although references include tortoises as part of the local diet of the 18th century, only one specimen is represented in the Parade assemblage, and this therefore places doubt on the extent to which this species was used. Tortoises feature prominently in the indigenous diet (Cruz-Uribe and Schrire 1991:101; Klein and Cruz-Uribe 1987; Parkington and Hall 1987; Phillipson 1977:257) and a 17th century reference notes how "broiled tortoises" were offered to slaves by an indigenous woman (Moodie 1960:128). Kolben (1731:214) describes the fine, white flesh and excellent taste of tortoises at the Cape. He specifies these as the "Land-Tortoise", of which the liver and eggs were eaten as delicacies. In the later 18th century Thunberg

describes how he enjoyed " broiled " tortoises at a farm near Cape Town (Forbes 1986:180-181). On this occasion, several in various sizes were spread onto live coals and in this way broiled alive. Very desirable were the tortoise eggs consisting of yolk only, found in great profusion. From the single specimen in the sample, it is not possible to ascertain if this animal died naturally or whether it forms part of the dietary remains and if so, why further remains are evidently lacking in this sample if tortoises were the delicacy described.

The frog remains in the assemblage, which only occur in the moat section (Appendix B), suggest that the moat still contained water or at least pools at this time. Individuals are small and their use as part of the cuisine is unlikely.

Domesticates

Domesticates include rabbits, pig, fowl, cattle and sheep, and will be discussed in the same order. Rabbits became pests soon after they were introduced to Robben Island in Table Bay in the 17th century, and were probably subsequently transhipped to the mainland (Avery 1989:114; Cruz-Uribe *et al* 1991:95; Raven-Hart 1971:26; Skead 1980:630). Mentzel maintains that rabbits and hares were rarely to be seen near the city but Valentyn makes mention of rabbits along with dassies (Mentzel 1944:231-232; Valentyn 1973:119). No reference has been found to the use of rabbits in the local diet of the time except for their mention "to refresh the friends that call here" and as "a resource for our seamen" on Schaapen Island in Saldanha Bay (Skead 1980:635-636).

The evidence of pig in the Parade assemblage is limited to one individual, and this is fairly consistent with the records which suggest that this was one of the most expensive meats at the Cape in the 18th century (Coetzee 1977:33: Hall 1992:393). Pigs were present from the beginning of the settlement in the 17th century (Leibbrandt 1901:151; Raven-Hart 1971:26; Thom 1952:121;123). It is evident that they were stocked on board passing ships such as the herd of Chinese pigs described swimming ashore from the seven homeward-bound merchantmen wrecked

in Table Bay on the 21st of May 1737 (Mentzel 1919:104; 1944:213; Valentyn 1973:185). Two types of pigs are described at the Cape in the mid-18th century, the ordinary European type and the Chinese type noted above. The latter would probably have been immediately slaughtered or put on other ships, since there was apparently no great demand for them.

The number of pigs in the assemblages appears to increase with the distance out of town, one represented in the Parade assemblage, two in the Paradise assemblage and six in the Oudepost I sample. Sheep, on the other hand, are represented by 31, 21 and 30 respectively in the various samples. Mentzel states that pigs were not fattened for selling, but smoked hams and pigs' heads were easily sold in town and pork was only marketable to owners of eating-houses in the city (1944:213). Although local pork was considered to have been of poor quality, smoked pork and bacon were apparently useful for sending out of town again, like the shipments sent to Oudepost I mentioned in the documents (Cruz-Uribe *et al* 1991:96; Mentzel 1925:101). Black pudding, in the form of boiled and smoked sausages, was eaten locally.

The Oudepost assemblage included more abundant remains of wild animals than domesticates (Cruz-Uribe and Schrire 1991:96). In the Parade and Paradise samples, domesticates are more common, even if only the known edible species are considered. The domestic fowl appears prominantly in the Parade assemblage and is also represented in both the Castle and Paradise material, but appears to be absent from the Oudepost sample. This is another regional variation which appears to show up differentially between town and the outpost at Oudepost I. Were the townsfolk more partial to, or dependant on, domestic fowl to supplement their diet? What is clear, however, is that access to wild game influenced the contribution of mammals and birds to the diet (Avery pers comm).

Duck, which appears in both the Parade and Paradise samples, also appears to be absent from the Oudepost I assemblage. Diverse poultry such as geese, turkeys, ducks, pigeons and fowls are mentioned for this period at the Cape and comparison is made to the variety found in the good

European housewife's poultry yard and the use of fertile eggs (Mentzel 1944:214; Valentyn 1973:121). That they were also probably bred on the spot, both for their meat and eggs, is evidenced from the domestic fowl chicks in the Parade sample.

However, Mentzel (1925:101) adds that ducks, geese, fowl and turkeys were not easy to come by. He comments that in town, the back-yards were often not large enough to keep poultry and farmers did not go in for it because of the damage they could do to their wheat fields. A few farmers' wives sometimes kept poultry used in exchange for town goods needed, but this is specifically relevant to the first half of the 18th century and the situation may have changed over time.

> " When a townsman wants some poultry, he has to send a slave to a neighbouring farm; if he is successful, well and good; if not, a day's labour has been wasted without return. For the same reason there is an equal scarcity of good, sweet butter and milk," (Mentzel 1925:101).

Even though this has been stated, the town assemblages still show a considerable element of poultry, and although turkeys and pigeons are not present in the Parade assemblage, pigeons do occur at the Castle. Further to this, Herr Allerman, who lived in town just outside the Castle, appears to have had a fowl-house which was mentioned in reference to his house which caught ablaze in 1736 (Mentzel 1919:101). Bearing in mind the problem of sample size, the domestic fowl is the second most significant specimen in the faunal assemblage (Appendix B).

Cattle:

Cattle are outnumbered by sheep in the assemblage. This confirms a greater reliance on mutton which was described as the staple 18th century diet (Coetzee 1977:65; Mentzel 1925:101; Valentyn 1973:119). The average price of mutton is stated as two stuivers per pound (boarding houses were charged one-and-a-half stuivers per pound), and the local beef, although described

as tough and tasteless in comparison to the good mutton, was sometimes sold at the same price, as a change in an otherwise monotonous diet (Mentzel 1925:84). During the previous century, beef was priced at two stuivers per pound and mutton was then more expensive at three stuivers per pound (Leibbrandt 1901:151). But beef was in lower demand in the 18th century in comparison to mutton, which is described to have been of excellent quality (Mentzel 1925:84).

The cattle represented in the sample may be assumed, like those at Oudepost I, to have been mostly of indigenous stock, imported species arriving in the late 18th century (Cruz-Uribe and Schrire 1991:96; Thom 1952:121;123; Valentyn 1973:17). Cattle were mainly used as draught animals for which there was no lack of oxen (Raven-Hart 1976:31; Valentyn 1973:119). Only while calves were sucking, on the average around eight to ten weeks, could milk be obtained from the cows (Mentzel 1944:200-206). Calves were seldom slaughtered and veal was not much appreciated at the Cape. Cattle were shot through the head, the nape of the neck then being cut with an axe, offal tripe was thrown to the dogs and the pluck (the less palatable parts such as the spleen and the lungs), which leaves no archaeological evidence, was cooked for the slaves. The feet were usually considered a delicacy, except in the case of those animals with "Lam-Siekte" (bovine parabotulism) (Bosman *et al* 1991:286), when these parts were then also given to the slaves.

A few cows were kept on estates close to the city, but cattle farmers lived mostly far into the interior of the country (Mentzel 1919:49; 1921:97; 1925:101; 1944:206). This presented a problem in regard to fresh butter, cheese and milk, for which a few cows and their calves had to be fetched from the nearest cattle farms and returned after their milk dried up. Transport costs of deliveries of butter and milk in the summer, for example, which had to be made in the evenings, created high prices.

According to De la Caille, even in the countryside milk was not easy to obtain (Raven-Hart 1976:31). He recounted living on a property at Groene-Kloof where there were more than 100

cattle, but every morning milk had to be fetched from half a league away. Most of the income of those who lived in the interior came from the sale of their animals and salted butter which they brought into town twice or thrice per year. Butter and milk were generally expensive and much of the cheese was of the import variety (Mentzel 1925:88). Highest on the price list was fresh butter, followed by imported salted butter from Holland and then by local salted butter. Fried mutton tail fat and pure white mutton fat, which was conceived as a delicacy, were often used as substitutes for butter (Coetzee 1977:65; Mentzel 1921:57).

Although apparently absent in the archaeological sample of the Parade, the use of goats is indicated through reference to their presence (Valentyn 1973:121) and in a placard of 19 July 1740, their unattended roaming in the town area was prohibited. It was noted with apprehension that, in disregard of the repeated public interdicts, certain of the inhabitants who kept goats allowed them to cause great damage to the young oaks and other newly planted trees in their wandering unattended around the streets of the town (Picard 1968:38). The placard, due to the continued nuisance of the animals, was renewed at this time, allowing all such wandering animals to be confiscated or shot. The presence of goats may point to the use of these animals for milk, which is consistent with their absence in the archaeological assemblage represented by discarded bones.

Sheep:

The main domestic species of the sample are sheep. Contracts were signed for the supply of meat to the Governor, the ships, the slaves and the hospital (Mentzel 1925:55). At one time the Company maintained slaughter-stocks at Groene Kloof and the Botlarij, but the meat contracts were subsequently given out to the burghers. A reserve flock of about 5000 sheep was kept at Groene Kloof and a smaller flock was kept close to the city for visiting ships.

The total assemblage of Parade sheep identified by Kathryn Cruz-Uribe and Richard Klein of the University of Chicago (Cruz-Uribe and Schrire 1991:92-106) consists of 86 individuals. Using

the medio-lateral diameter of the distal humerus, Kathryn Cruz-Uribe and Carmel Schrire have shown that the Parade sheep were significantly larger than any of the prehistoric sheep (1991:92-106). The size of the Parade sheep were similar to those from Oudepost I. The larger sized colonial samples possibly reflect a mix of imported and/or hybrid breeds (Cruz-Uribe *et al* 1991:98; Avery 1989). Like the Oudepost sample, it may be assumed that the Parade sheep were obtained from settler farmers, Khoikhoi herders and the local Company abattoirs, which drew from both sources.

As regards the age structure of the sheep, the Parade assemblage contrasts markedly with those from Oudepost I and samples from the site at Paradise (Avery 1989:114-116; Cruz-Uribe and Schrire 1991:99). The Parade mutton came predominantly from individuals 24 months and older and Oudepost I and Paradise samples were slaughtered between 6-24 months of age. The older, tougher Parade mutton, according to written accounts, would not have been considered to be the best tasting meat which, apparently would have come from sheep slaughtered in, or subsequent to, their second year (Mentzel 1944:212). The Parade sample indicates a management system different to that inferred from the Oudepost I site and the Paradise site, but still within the maximum meat yield period considered to be within the second and third year.

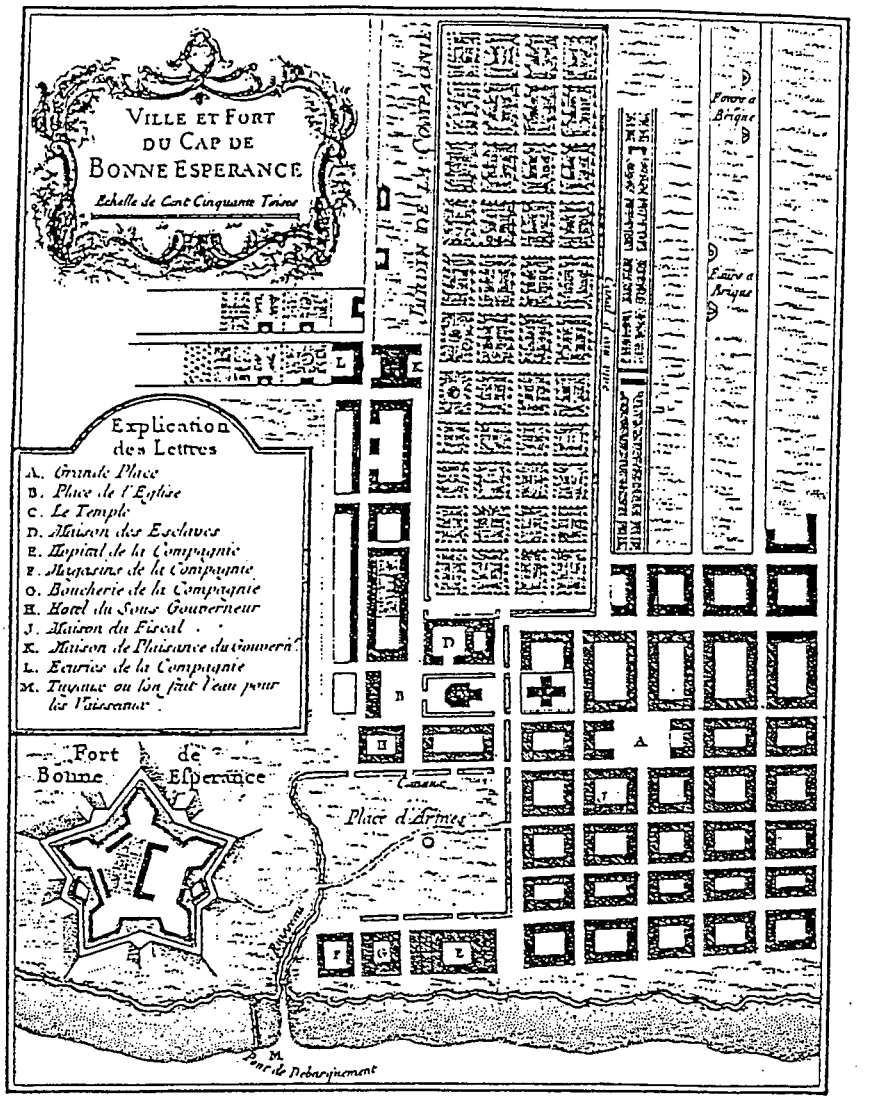
Despite this difference in the slaughter pattern, it cannot by assumed that this reflects lower status in the consumers (Cruz-Uribe and Schrire 1991:99) even though it has been stated that the farmers slaughtered fattened stock for their own tables and old ewes sufficed for the feeding of slaves (Mentzel 1921:56). This situation may have been different in town itself. The Company demanded good, sound, fresh meat and only healthy stock were to be slaughtered (Mentzel 1925:55). The requirements of the rest of the inhabitants were secondary. Perhaps the town inhabitants were not able to be as selective even though tastes varied.

In spite of attempts to gauge a profile of the people associated with the Parade assemblage, this has proven to be increasingly problematic. Although the original Parade perimeters around the

excavation site were bounded by two streets among the most important in Cape Town, namely Keizersgracht, or the present-day Darling Street, which was the main thoroughfare out of and into the town, and Heerengracht, or the present-day Adderley Street, which was and still is the main road in town, there is no evidence to prove a direct relationship between people living in these streets around this square and the assemblage (Abrahams 1985). That is, the Parade fill could have come from anywhere in town. The 18th century garbage problems were far from sorted out and various proclamations indicate the extent of the problem (De Wet 1968:240; 1981:310). Contrary to regulation, the town's dirt was still being strewn about during this time. Descriptions indicate that offal was left outside the doors of the butchery for scavengers such as the hyaenas roaming about at night in the town after dark (Laidler 1952:75; 98). Heaps of heads and intestines were piled up in front of the butchers' shops on the shore.

Whatever the case, this leads one to question the assumed slaughter pattern of the urban Cape area of this time. It furthermore raises questions regarding the more general use of older sheep, especially since the Parade assemblage in all probability represents meat purchased from the town butchery or shambles which was located in close proximity on the other side of the Parade during the 18th and 19th centuries (Abrahams 1985:72;77; Hattingh 1985:35).

Figure 48 illustrates the position of the butchery of the Company at " G ", and this map by J.N.Bellin is dated to 1764 in Tooley (1968) and Picard (1968), and to 1749 on the Cape Archives' copy (M1/336). Another map of 1767 illustrates the " Company's Slaughter-house " in the same area (Mentzel 1921:86). At this time the abattoirs or slaughter houses consisted of a line of buildings facing the sea (Laidler 1952:75). Approximately a hundred years later, the "Butchers Shambles" are indicated in the same vicinity (M1/343).



Translation of the French Text:

TOWN AND FORTRESS OF THE CAPE OF GOOD HOPE
(scale of 150 fathoms)

(*explanation of symbols*)

A. Big Square	G. Butchery of the Company
B. Church Square	H. House of the Second-in-Command
C. The Church	J. House of the Fiscal
D. Slave Lodge	K. Pleasure House of the Governor
E. Hospital of the Company	L. Stables of the Company
F. Warehouse of the Company	M. Pipes for the water supply of the ships

(bottom left - castle) - - -	Fortress the Good Hope
(bottom seafront, underneath M) -	Disembarkation Jetty
(bottom, next to river) - -	River
(on parade) - - - -	Square of Arms
('canaux') - - - -	Canals
(top, next to Garden) left - -	Garden of the Company
(top, next to Garden) right - -	Canal of streaming water
(top, right twice) - - -	Brick Works

Fig. 48. **Map of the Cape of Good Hope dated to 1749 (Cape Archives M1/336), showing the butchery of the Company at "G".**

The Parade sheep assemblage suggests the use of tough, old mutton (Cruz-Uribe *et al* 1991:99) and it should perhaps be kept in mind that meat of this kind could conceivably have been used for feeding the more general population, which also consisted of a large number of soldiers, sailors and visitors having many of their meals at various eating houses or "buffets" and "refreshment places" among the towns-folk and for voyagers at lodging houses in town (Mentzel 1919:90; 1921:11; 1925:99;142; Laidler 1952:101).

Boarding-house keepers were big customers of butchers, and the style of the accommodation and quality of the table varied, but included that offered by humble townsmen to that offered by prominent wealthy burghers (Hattersley 1969:17; Mentzel 1925:81;89). Midday meals were offered at low prices to unmarried officials and presumably to those unaccompanied by their spouses, as "table boarders" or "table guests". These eating houses became even more popular towards the end of the 18th century when they became known as "Sasaatje and Rice Houses", evidently evolved from the Malay-kept businesses where the Arabian "kabob", spicy squares of mutton roasted on sticks were served on rice (Laidler 1952:112).

The use of tough mutton also lends support to the development of other local methods of cooking which includes the well-known Cape "bredies" consisting mainly of a long-simmered stew of mutton and vegetables (Leipoldt 1976:75), much along the lines of the meat and vegetables stewed in a pottage described by James Deetz for colonial America (1977:124).

When it comes to supply and demand, mutton does not appear to have been in such abundant supply as to warrant unreserved rations to slaves, and this was sometimes increased during sickness, but reduced again as the slaves recovered (Hall 1992:393). Second to pork, it is listed among the most expensive on the price list fixed at 3 stuivers per pound by the VOC in the mid-18th century (Coetzee 1977:33;71; Hall 1992:393; Mentzel 1919:46). This, along with the fact of older individuals in the sample, may suggest, contrary to what is commonly indicated, an ongoing trade and dependance on livestock from the indigenous Khoisan into the 18th century.

From the mid-1660s the herds and flocks of indigenous tribes at the Cape and further inland had begun to decline at a phenomenal rate, eventually leading to the disintegration of their economic base by the beginning of the 18th century (Elphick and Giliomee 1979:20). However, small flocks and herds were still owned and even though the Khoisan had become more reluctant to sell certain of their livestock, young farmers were known to have made their largest profits through getting sheep and oxen from the indigenous people in the mid-18th century in exchange for trifles such as brass buttons, shells, mirrors, knives, glass beads and brandy and tobacco (Mentzel 1919:78). Indigenous economic herder strategies have been identified in the archaeological record and most prehistoric sites appear to be dominated by young individuals (Phillipson 1977:257; Smith 1986:36-41). However, older livestock may have been traded with Europeans. Is this perhaps what is reflected in the Parade assemblage? In a reference by Valentyn (1973:17), the indications are that livestock was not bartered on an ad-hoc basis, but selectively by the indigenous people. In spite of their continual request to the contrary, only wethers were offered for bartering.

The difference in kill-off patterns evident between assemblages from the Parade on the one hand, and Paradise and Oudepost I, on the other hand, may be related to the former's proximity to the town shambles or butchery. It might be suggested that the common townsfolk were fed on meat from the local butchery which was supplied with tough, old mutton from out-of-town dealers. The most useful milk/wool bearing years are estimated to be before the age of two and the maximum meat yield period between the ages of one and three (Avery 1989:115; Cruz-Uribe *et al* 1991:98). A slaughter pattern after the age of two indicates that the meat dealers were supplying older animals to be killed off after an extended use in milk and wool production, but still within the maximum meat yield period.

Overview

On the whole, the Parade faunal results suggest that most of the mid-18th century town diet

consisted of meat from domestic sheep, domestic fowl and other birds, game including grysbok, steenbok and the common duiker, cattle, penguins, pig, brown mussels, limpets, black mussels, periwinkles and oysters, in decreasing order of frequency.

The sample is relatively limited and detailed body part analysis has yet to be done. It would appear, however, that skull elements are well-represented, especially among the cattle and sheep remains. What is particularly evident are posterior cut marks creating sagittal splits across the parietals which could have allowed access to the brains. The use of sheep heads, broken open for the brains, has been noted in the faunal assemblage which Martin Hall has related to an area occupied by slaves in the Castle (1992:392). Mentzel makes reference to the head and pluck being sold to the slaves at the Schuur, one of the Company's estates (1919:46). However, the Parade skulls may indicate a change by way of a more general taste for brains, possibly extracted and sold by the slaughter-house itself in close vicinity to the site?

This is supported by reference to the eyes, brains and tongue being treated as the choicest fare (Coetzee 1977:66). Roasted sheep's head was sometimes cooked by covering it with hot ashes to cook more slowly. At other times, the head and trotters were cooked with finely chopped tripe. Archaeological evidence of this could be represented by cleaning marks on the heads which were carefully scraped after boiling and removal of the glands and other impurities after the heads were split open with an axes. The knuckle bones of the feet which were eaten are also missing in the assemblage, save for a few and this may relate to their use as toy oxen or horses among the children and "dolosse" used by traditional doctors (Grobbelaar *et al* 1977:84; Pretorius 1988:200).

On the basis of body part differentiation, Hall has also diagnosed between high and low status diets at the Castle in Cape Town (1992:392). He has inferred that the officers enjoyed leg of lamb at their table, along with more other domestic species of which mostly juveniles were represented, also among the chickens and pigeons. The slave diet is inferred to have included more shoulder

of mutton and sheeps' heads of older individuals, less palatable marine birds such as flamingos, penguins and cormorants as well as a greater consumption of periwinkles. Common to diets of both the officers and the slaves at the Castle were shoal fish, mostly Haarder and, like the Parade sample illustrates, white stumpnose, mutton, beef, wild and domestic fowl, black mussels and periwinkles. Oysters which are represented in the Parade sample, do not occur in the Castle or the Oudepost I assemblages.

The sample is too small to make inferences about selective meat cuts determined through patterns in skeletal parts represented in the Parade assemblage. Apart from the sample size, the biggest problem in this discussion relates to the mixed nature of the sample and it would therefore not be possible to identify who was involved in producing the evidence.

The main social dichotomy identified from the archaelogical evidence of meat cuts in England appears to have been based on choice cuts from young animals for the affluent and the extremities of older individuals for the poor (Avery 1989:116). This ties in with the sheep remains from local historical sites which illustrate a preponderance of lower limbs for the garrison at Paradise, the heads and lower limbs for the garrison at Oudepost I and the use of older individuals, their heads and shoulder cuts for slaves at the Castle. Unfortunately, since the Parade assemblage cannot be socially differentiated, the sample cannot be used for this purpose, but it is noteworthy here to refer to Martin Hall's observations relating to slave rations (1992:393). Each slave received 40 pounds of rice per month, or bread instead, half a pound of fresh meat per day and three or four salted fish for each adult every week.

Rice and grain was obviously in good supply and salted fish reduced the pressures of demand on fresh meat, which was only relieved when the lives of the slaves were threatened through contagious disease. Under these circumstances, Hall has noted (1992:393), extra fresh mutton was allowed to the slaves. But other than this, because fish was mostly relatively cheap, it was fed to the slaves and purchased by the poor (Mentzel 1925:89).

Patterns in the skeletal parts distribution are very limited due to the small sample size but there are indications in the cattle and sheep which suggest the choice of skull and lower extremities whereas the fore and hind quarters are less well represented. Many of the cattle phalanges are very large, coming from older oxen which are unlikely to have been part of the food debris. Birds, such as the domestic fowls, were probably roasted whole and both males and females were used. Fish bones are inevitably scanty and not always recovered in the archaeological context, especially not so from the salvaged trenches.

Butchering techniques are indicated in the form of cut marks and chop marks on the small and large domestic and wild animals. These are consistent with the use of chopping knives or cleavers mentioned in the Parade inventories. The use of axes and cooks hatchets, as listed in the supplies sent to establish the Oudepost I in 1669, is also conceivable, but would be difficult to differentiate from the other cut marks and chop marks. Mid-shaft chopping is evident on many of the sheep humerae and many split vertebrae, possibly used as chops with ribs attached, are indications of small cuts of meat as used in a stew. Gnaw marks by rodents and carnivore damage occur on a few of the bones.

Cruz-Uribe and Schrire contend that sawing was an early colonial practice (1991:100). The Parade bones only indicate cut and chop marks, with no obvious evidence of sawing.

Food consumption

Food and beverage consumption, particularly in the more communal sense which may be implied from the larger serving vessels in the ceramic sample under study, were much more social-orientated food related activities than preparation or storage. Yentsch states that,

> "Through social display or conspicuous consumption...households conveyed a family's social, economic or political power and its position in the social hierarchy. The display component of food utilized food itself, the vessels in which it was served, and the setting in which it was presented. Display, in fact, was one of the cornerstones of social dining..." (1991:27)

Both the archaeological and inventory evidence from the Parade shows an overwhelming importance in the social display of porcelain at tea times and meal times. In addition, the Parade inventory data conveys an impression of much silver and this tendency for silver and silver-plate items invested for display increased into the 19th century (Malan 1993:109). Furthermore, most collections of Cape silver consist of tableware, clearly illustrating its importance in this realm of social interaction (Heller 1949:25;195; Heller 1953; Morrison 1936; S.A. National Gallery 1981; Welz 1976).

The sample illustrates that porcelain was used as a symbol of status, but not only through the display of decorative items, but in the way in which the porcelain in general was used. Porcelain was used mostly during meal times for eating and drinking and the most decorative and expensive pieces, such as polychromes, were used. The prime locations of porcelain in the townhouse and rural house were coincident with the areas of maximum exposure or display in the "galdery" or "voorhuis" where they were placed to be "seen" in the main areas of social interaction.

Table setting

It is conceivable that table settings and associated table manners ranged greatly from house to house in the mid-18th century, depending largely on the occasion, the relevant status of the family, prestige, social mobility and economic opportunity, the reception naturally " being in keeping with the wealth and station of the parties concerned " (Mentzel 1925:104). One of the only representations found of a Cape interior, dated to 1754, most suitable for comparison in this study of the mid-18th century, shows the Wernich family around a table with a floor-length blue

cover (Woodward 1982:132-136). This cover, it is believed, would in turn have been covered by, or replaced with, a linen or damask table cloth at meal-times, accompanied by napkins folded into fancy shapes.

All meals were preceded and concluded by grace, fines being imposed on those found to omit this ceremony (Hattersley 1969:33). At the Governor's table, meals were eaten to the sound of trumpets, but more generally, elaborate dinner parties were not common among the Cape folk at this time, partly due to the absence of delicacies (Mentzel 1919;69; 1925:100). The choicest of fare could always be found at the Governor's table though. Included in his staff of twelve free workers paid by the Company were a cook, a baker, a confectioner and three huntsmen (Mentzel 1921:140).

Many changes in the sphere of table manners occurred in the preceeding 17th century (Woodward 1982:203). One of the most significant was the introduction of individual flat dishes of either wood, earthenware, pewter or silver, instead of communal dishes. Table appointments of the 17th and 18th centuries varied but, generally speaking, important guests were placed at the head of the table and humbler guests at the foot. It was customary in the 17th and 18th centuries to serve perhaps only a couple of courses, however, consisting of a variety of different dishes.

Various methods of serving are indicated in local instances, such as the routine described at boarding houses, at parties before a wedding, at the wedding itself and the hospital routine previously described. At the better class boarding house there was a comfortable parlour in which there was a table, always laden with fresh fruit, cheese, butter, wine, pipes and tobacco (Laidler 1952:89). Tea and coffee was served with breakfast which was usually at 8 o'clock in the morning. Fish and game, and mutton no doubt, were served at noon, and much the same at supper at 8 o'clock in the evening.

At a party during the week preceding a wedding, a cold repast was served between 7 and 8

o'clock in the evening (Mentzel 1925:120). The ladies were handed serviettes, plates, knives and forks by a slave, and the food dishes were taken around by the young men. At the wedding reception, all dishes were brought to the table simultaneously (Coetzee 1977:87). The main dishes, such as the roasts, were usually served whole. At weddings, the men were seated at long tables which were placed in the guest room (Mentzel 1925:104). Unlike the custom in Europe, where ladies sat on the one side and gentlemen on the other side of a long table (Van Blommestein 1991:7), locally, in the town area, the women were apparantly served separately. The large tables,

> "...are so loaded with eatables as to leave no room for another plate. There is an abundant supply of local dishes, stewed and roasted meats, boiled and fried fish, pastries and sweetmeats, prepared in a variety of ways, and also a good supply of imported smoked and corned meats" (Mentzel 1925:104).

This passage conveys the abundance and variety of food supply, but fails to inform about the way in which the assemblage of ceramics was used on this occasion. Another passage describing the infinite array of foods at a fashionable Cape wedding, is only slightly more informative,

> "I have myself, seen at least 50 different dishes on the table, including the vegetable dishes. The table is so crowded that the smaller dishes have to rest on the rims of the larger ones. I have seen enormous porcelain salad dishes, a yard in diameter, the like of which is a rare site in Europe...Besides the various foods, tea, coffee, wine or beer, and for the gentlemen, pipes and tobacco, are to be had at any time during the evening, trays of these being constantly carried about by slaves. As on the previous occasion, the women do not sit down with the men at table, but remain in the dancing-chamber and partake of refreshments there " (Mentzel 1925:121).

The lavish scale of this fashionable wedding illustrates the use of numerous serving dishes of variable sizes, and there are many of these in the archaeological assemblage, both in porcelain and in earthenware. The large porcelain salad dish of one yard in diameter, may be a slight exaggeration. Large circular porcelain serving dishes are encountered in the sample, but nothing close to the size described by Mentzel. The reference to the use of trays, as encountered in the

inventories, is noteworthy here as well as the custom of separate eating facilities for men and women. It is interesting to note here that in the country, this custom was different, in that the ladies were noted for sitting around a table at weddings, unlike their town counterparts who ate from their laps (Mentzel 1944:117).

As in Europe, the first cookery books in South Africa were manuscripts of domestic recipes and traditional methods of food preparation, also including household directions such as instructions for the correct table setting and whatever else was considered to be the essentials of etiquette. By the 18th century, printed cookery books in Dutch, German and French were also available at the Cape (Leipoldt 1976:17).

A popular book first published in Amsterdam in 1746, *De Volmaakte Hollandse Keuken Meid* (Woodward 1982:204), describes the "correct" table setting of the period, and this provides a context for the archaeological specimens. Two kinds of round serving vessels were necessary, the "schotel" or dish and the "saucierken" or saucer-dish. Each type was required in three or four different sizes. A variety of sizes in dishes and saucer-dish types are noted in the sample, but altogether they tend to fall mostly within four size groups. The larger dishes or platters of porcelain in the sample are approximately between 300-400mm in diameter. The coarse porcelain saucer-dish types range from about 220-280mm and the coarse earthenware dishes fall somewhere between 190-250mm in diameter. The latter resembles certain of the porcelain fragments in the sample which indicate that they may have been used as the smaller serving dishes or soup plate types of about 250mm, similar to, but deeper than, the flat dinner plates also encountered in the *Geldermalsen* porcelain (Jörg 1986:59-62).

According to *De Volmaakte Hollandse Keuken Meid* (Woodward 1982:204), the largest "schotel" was placed in the centre of the table, containing the principal dish such as venison or swan pie. Apart from the coarse earthenware basins, the largest dishes in the assemblage consist of 30 (4%) porcelain platters or large circular dishes, of which most are Chinese underglaze blue

but for one in polychrome, and six Japanese dishes, of which four represent the Arita ware type. The next size down is the "schotels", which may have been part of the 30 dishes in the assemblage described above, or of the coarse porcelain variety, and which were used to serve the great roasts such as beef, pork and mutton.

The third size "schotels", which may be represented by the variety of 31 (19%) bowls or the dishes in the earthenware and porcelain group, were used for smaller roasts which included chicken, duck, snipe and pigeon (Woodward 1982:204). Tarts, jellied meats, cakes and the like were served on the smallest dishes. The saucer-dishes, if these were the coarse porcelain type represented by the South Provincial wares in the sample, consisting of approximately 46 (6%), were mainly used for stews, ragouts, salads, vegetables and small cakes as well as fruit, if other dishes were not available. A variety of small dishes and bowls, possibly such as the variety of porcelain bowls found in variable sizes but larger than the tea bowls, were also used for butter, mustard, pickles, sugar, spices and cream. The table was arranged symmetrically with similar dishes diagonally opposite each other.

In as much as the local recipes and means of preparing food contained characteristically South African modifications, they could still have been served as described in *De Volmaakte Hollandse Keuken Meid.* Apparantly this book was widely used at the Cape (Coetzee 1977:79) and is useful in the absence of other documentary guidelines, apart from the inventory and other information such as travellers' accounts.

In 18th century Netherlands, a distinction had developed between simple kitchenware and the more costly tableware (Museum Boymans-van Beuningen 1991:169-249). Table manners had become more sophisticated, and each course was served in a special bowl or plate. Vast quantities of tableware were produced by Dutch potters and so it would stand to reason that certain of the eathenwares found locally were also used at the table, and this is especially suggested by the larger pots or basins with no evidence of soot, the bowls or dishes and little pots, jars or beakers.

According to the size variations and the mixed nature of the assemblage, it would appear that porcelain and earthenware were used together in a mixed array on the Cape table of the 18th century.

Fine Chinese and Japanese porcelain, which was very fashionable in Europe, was imported. Unlike the Cape, the Dutch contributed, albeit on a very limited scale, to the production of porcelain at Loosdrecht and Amstel and more auspiciously to ornate tin-glazed white earthenwares at Delft, Gouda and Makkum. English creamware of the 18th century created challenging competition for the delftware producers until the latter was eventually ousted in the later 18th century. None of the Dutch porcelain, delfware or English creamware appears to have made a significant impression within the Parade or other local assemblages of around the mid-18th century.

Ceramic use as evidenced by the assemblage

Porcelain:

The Parade assemblage bears clear evidence of the active trade activities of the Dutch East India Company in porcelain. The bulk of the Parade ceramics consists of the more typical Chinese export porcelain products but, with a few exceptions pointing to clandestine and private trade, which indeed is said to have flourished at the Cape.

The Chinese export porcelain is the major artefact category when the entire Parade assemblage is considered and as such deserves a great deal more research attention than that which it has previously received. Chinese porcelain was at the height of fashion in Europe at the time and the Cape inhabitants have demonstrated that they were definitely partial to Eastern goods. The excellent quality and aesthetic appeal of Eastern porcelain is acknowledged through the demand which it created at the time, both locally and overseas. Locally-produced coarse earthenwares are commonly found on local sites, but unlike Chinese porcelain, these are mostly utilitarian items lacking any form of initiative in decoration.

Oriental porcelain (73%), mostly in underglaze blue, exceeds by far any of the other ceramic types such as earthenware (17%) and stoneware (9%), in the Parade assemblage. It remains to be seen if similar proportions are presented on other local sites and if so, if this is a factor purely related to availability and possibly cheaper prices, at the Cape. On the other hand, how strong was the influence of choice in the matter and following of the fashion in Oriental porcelain possession? If there are major variations which show up in different local sites when status, rural and urban variables are introduced, this needs to be investigated.

"Growwe" or coarse porcelain :

One vernacular trend which shows up very clearly relates to the abundance of "growwe" or coarse porcelain (14%) in the Parade porcelain assemblage. This type of ceramic is scarcely found in Europe or America, but interestingly enough occurs on sites of Indonesian contact in the northern part of Australia (Mark Staniforth pers comm). Even from the *Geldermalsen* shipment of porcelain which was destined for Europe, the coarse porcelain has been firmly tied in with the Cape. Other local sites of this period display a similar presence in coarse porcelain but differences in the ratios remain to be seen. The fact that coarse porcelain is found in such abundance locally makes it a most suitable candidate for detailed study and analysis within local sites and between sites, on a much larger scale than that attempted in this study.

Even though there appears to be a strong connection in coarse porcelain shown to be related to the eastern archipelago, it has not been possible yet, due to a lack of specific site material, to demonstrate a connection with sites with definite Eastern occupants. However, it is conceivable that the effects of Eastern cooks and cooking had a much more general impact on the wider Cape society of the mid-18th century and later.

Other items of Eastern contact are the porcelain saucers and bowls with Arabic inscriptions. The strong influence of the Islamic tradition at the Cape is well documented (Bradlow *et al* 1978; Da Costa *et al* 1994; Davids 1980; 1985; Du Plessis 1947; 1953; Mayson 1970). However, it is not

yet clear what the presence of these ceramics demonstrates. Or can nothing more than mere Islamic presence, if that, be interpreted from these ceramics? Certainly from this sample alone, it would be difficult, if not totally presumptuous to labour the point. There are many other implications which need to be considered before any meaningful interpretation can justifiably be entertained from this limited data base.

Polychrome wares :

More popular than perhaps previously anticipated, was the use of polychromes as represented in the Parade assemblage. This very popular type of porcelain, which for the purpose of discussion here includes both Imari and entirely overglazed wares, originated from the Japanese Imari. Future comparative work needs to look at whether or not there is a similar abundance on other local comparative sites and overseas sites, if they were also mostly represented by bowls and saucers, were they as popular on sites further out of town, were they more abundant in the more affordable homes and if so, were there noticeable difference in the quality, that is, were the original Japanese items more prevalent on more prosperous sites? Is the emphasis on armorial porcelain possibly a result of antiquarian tastes which stressed collection of the more aesthetic, neglecting to realize the importance of ordinary utilitarian items?

Monogrammed porcelain occurs more frequently in inventories around the turn of the 18th century when it appears to have changed from having been the prerogative of the top Company officials, to elite, individual, mercantile family heads at the Cape (Malan 1993:184). Notwithstanding the question of status of the Parade assemblage, the lack of monogrammed porcelain in the sample lends support to the chronological parameters suggested by the inventories into the late 18th century.

Polychrome wares (overglaze enamels) in the "famille rose" palette first appeared around 1720, becoming well-established by 1730 in Europe. Since this type of porcelain in the polychrome palette appears to have been a fashionable asset, it is interesting to consider that the Parade

assemblage shows a time lag of approximately ten years. When more comparative local site assemblages are available, it may be of interest to consider if a similar time lag in following of this fashion is indicated.

Coarse earthenwares:

Locally-produced coarse earthenwares of the VOC period at the Cape are a significant vernacular development in ceramics. Their obvious importance in terms of relevant percentage contribution within the overall ceramic assemblage (14%) should be compared with those of other sites to see if similar trends are noticeable in slave sites, in those of higher status, in rural and in overseas sites.

Coarse earthenwares were apparently produced in sufficient quantity to allow stock-piling and export into the interior (Abrahams 1994). But at this stage, there is still the question of how much of this was actually sent to the more outlying areas, and if the demand was as great as that in central Cape Town itself. There are indications that local production may have fallen under the domain of the slaves. If this is indeed the case, it is not yet known if this form of ceramic is more prevalent and important on slave sites or not. And if so, if there are innovative or unique features or selective preferences which can be detected in samples specifically from these sites.

Unfortunately, local kiln sites have not yet been investigated, so the question of provenance remains to be answered. However, the indications are that multi-element nuclear and atomic analysis or geochemical methods may prove successful in this regard but only if the correct samples are available for analysis. Visual comparison with overseas samples indicate similarities in items of green and yellow glazed wares with buff bodies and the more globular shapes in the smaller little pots, bowls and saucers with everted, rolled or plain rims (Abrahams 1994:16).

Compatible coarse earthenwares from Sommelsdijk in the Netherlands show that dishes were slip-decorated (Olivier 1992:1-12), none of which have been identified in the Parade sample. Other

items not found or possibly not identifiable in the Parade assemblage include jugs, chamber pots and creamers. It is yet to be determined whether other more elite, rural or sites such as those occupied by slaves, reflect a similar pattern. The problems experienced in local dairying activities may be indicative of the absence of jugs and creamers in the assemblage. And furthermore, it is conceivable that old vessels were simply re-utilized for chamber pots (pers comm Klose and Malan).

Stoneware:

Stoneware appears as one of the least significant ceramic types (9%) in the sample (Table 1.1). These were mostly European, imported from Germany. This may have been for practical reasons, stoneware being watertight and durable, or possibly for reasons of hygiene. Traditionally, however, it was customary in Europe to use these vessels mainly in storage, as pouring and as drinking vessels. A vast export trade in these items flourished during the 17th and 18th centuries which, according to the evidence in the sample, also extended as far afield as the Cape in the mid-18th century. It has not been possible to demonstrate if stonewares were also exported to sites further afield than the port at the Cape, and whether in similar proportions.

Of the stoneware in the sample, the bulk (72%) were used as pouring or drinking vessels which include jugs, jars, bottles, mugs and tankards. This indicates a definite preference in which these items were selected from the range which also included storage jars, porringers and chamber pots, none of the latter being represented in the sample. It would be of interest to know if this is peculiar to this site or if this is also reflected on other local sites. The indications are that, other than tea-drinking, local beverage consumption traditions may have retained closer ties with Europe. Certainly the European fashion of drinking mineral water was also prevalent at the Cape, judging from the presence of stoneware mineral water bottles especially made for export, found in the assemblage.

Other than the German stonewares, a small proportion of Oriental stoneware in the sample

consists mostly of teapots, bowls and martavans, which again indicates selection factors in operation. No doubt, particularly during the 18th century, the custom of drinking tea was more closely tied with its centre of origin in the East, some firmly believing that proper tea could only be poured from a Yi-hsing teapot (Charleston 1971:60; Godden 1974:94). Traditionally, the "correct" teapot and tea bowls became inseparable from their counterpart, the tea in which they were packed, all imported from the Far East.

Certain stoneware items in the assemblage were difficult to access, even by overseas experts. The three specimens in question may possibly be items of celadon ware which were treasured and passed down through generations, indicating an international value system in which certain Cape inhabitants appeared to have participated. Since not much is known of local ownership and use of these valued pieces in the 18th century Cape, it would be of interest, as a start, to find out if, and how prevalent, these were in Cape collections.

Other European earthenwares:

This is a relatively minor category (3%) within the total assemblage, most of which consists of tin-glazed wares of the 18th century. The low representation of what is probably mostly Dutch tin-glazed wares clearly contradicts Woodward's suspicion (1974:162) that these items were circulated in quantity, even though her inventory information appears to be more in line with the evidence of this assemblage. If other sites support this low representation of tin-glazed wares, the inventories may be more reliable in this regard.

Although these wares were commonly decorated in polychrome colours and included many functional and decorative types, items in the assemblage consist mostly of plain white plates and jars and a few pieces decorated in blue and white. When the inventories refer to tin-glazed wares as "Delft porcelain" (Woodward 1974:162), this may be related to the fact that most of them appear to have been decorated in the Oriental blue and white fashion and descriptions of ceramics are more commonly based on decorative style than body type.

The inventories may therefore not, contrary to Woodward's suspicions, be giving "...an exaggerated, possibly a highly exaggerated, idea of the amount of porcelain in circulation..." (1974:162). Cost factors should be considered along with tradition and practical reasons such as accessibility. Even though, in terms of quality and serviceability, the Oriental porcelain body and glazing was by far more desirable, were there traditional ties which were retained through the use of Dutch-type delftware? Is there any connection between the fact that many of the Dutch-type delfware items in the sample are jars or pots (drug pots?) and tiles (pill tiles?) which could be related to apothecary equipment and the fact that traditional Dutch medicines continued to be popular at the Cape, even into the present century?

Woodward appears to be correct, however, in that the inventories do not provide detailed information, such as the presence of French Rouen types found in the sample. If comparative site work allowed, these could be related locally to French-connected sites as those found in American contexts (Noël Hume 1985:141). Apart from the above discussed tin-glazed wares, the remainder of the other white, cream and red European earthenwares consist of creamware, refined whiteware, redware, salt-glazed wares and pearlware, all of which became immensely popular in Europe.

The British pottery industry developed into a flourishing export market during the second half of the 18th century. The Cape, however, from the evidence of the sample, retained its custom of using Chinese porcelain. Locally, the impact of the British ceramic industry in the mid-18th century appears to have been negligible. When more excavation details are available, it would be interesting to investigate if noticeable differences can be detected on sites of British settlers of the 18th century.

Beverage Consumption

Despite the fact that glass, pewter and precious metals all featured as important in the consumption of drinks, this discussion will be limited to the use of ceramic receptacles, except where they have been noted in other forms in local inventories. Limited mention will be made of other relevant artefacts such as glass found in the assemblage.

Alcoholic beverages

In a separate study (Abrahams 1987:1-38) it has been shown that the glass bottles excavated from the Parade site date mostly to the mid-18th century, that they were largely imported from Europe and that local glass production was only commenced, after a series of stops and starts, at the end of the 19th century. Much has been written about the production of local wine which, on the other hand, was successfully started already in the 17th century and developed to the point of export by the 18th century, while other wines and beer were also imported (Leipoldt 1974:1-29; Orffer 1968:81-108; Pama 1979:viii; Valentyn 1973:189). The Cape provided an almost perfect climate for the development of viticulture (Johnson 1971:230).

The prospering of the liquor trade at the Cape is well known. Laidler and others have described the effects of over-indulgence in private homes, canteens, taps, inns, alehouses, taverns and boarding houses (Hattersley 1969:17; Laidler 1952:58;89; Woodward 1982:220). But, for the purpose of this study, suffice it to say that there was no shortage of alcoholic beverages. The question is, how and when were these served?

Alcohol was included as a routine part of the rations of the VOC incumbents, and made available for purchase by them at the Cape (Mentzel 1919:34;44;45). To equip the VOC recruit for his journey to the Cape, "...a little barrel of gin...a little pewter mug...a metal tube for drawing the

gin out of the cask," were packed with his possessions (Mentzel 1919:21). In Europe at the time, wine appears to have been a more familiar drink than water which, when transported in casks on ships "turned into a stinking mess teeming with worms, in the unbearable tropical heat of the doldrums" (Orffer 1968:82). Wine and beer accompanied meals and festive occasions and could be drunk at taverns (Mentzel 1919:42;44;71;111; 1925:85;86). Licenced wine-shops were among the most profitable businesses at the Cape.

Perhaps most relevant here is Woodward's comment that, although all sorts of drinking vessels in porcelain, earthenware, metal and glass were used, " any form of specialized drinking vessel was a non-essential piece of household equipment" and beer or wine could be drunk from any small bowl or pot. The Parade assemblage has fragments of many items, which have been difficult to reconstruct, but could quite conceivably be the remains of little pots or bowls. What should be mentioned here though, is the local presence of a number of tumbler-type beakers in both earthenware and stoneware, found in excavations at the Castle (Abrahams 1985). Cognizance should be taken of the evidence of clear glass tumblers and stemmed glasses found in equal profusion in the Parade assemblage.

The inventories make reference to " oude porcelijne Carbassen " inferred by Woodward (1982:224;132) to mean large Japanese porcelain gallipots, none of which occur in identifiable form in the Parade assemblage, nor is there evidence of wine coolers, one of which has been encountered in an inventory. The inventories also refer to salt-glazed stoneware vessels as "Keulse kannen" (Cologne jugs and tankards). Most of the stoneware vessels in the sample are indeed pouring and drinking vessels including bottles, mugs, jugs and tankards originating from the Rhineland region in Germany. From the sample, the Frechen-types and Westerwald-types seem to have been most popular at the Cape. Porcelain beakers, flasks and "gorgolets" (water flasks) are listed in probate records (Malan 1993:153) and the Parade inventories also mention a "bottelgreep" and taps in copper/brass as well as pewter trays or salvers.

The serving of wine as a token of hospitality is well documented, and descriptions vary in regard to its quality (Laidler 1952:77; Leipoldt 1974:28-43; Mentzel 1919:110; 1925:55;141; 1944:174-187; Orffer 1968:96; Raven-Hart 1976:33). The Constantia wines exported to Europe were assumed by De la Caille to have been heavily adulterated, based on the large quantities sold, which he believed could not have been supported by the size of the vineyards. Before the meal, white wine was served with aloes or wormwood as bitters. It was customary at the Cape in the mid-18th century to have two or three glasses of wine first with the meal and this could be followed with beer. A popular beverage called "sugar-beer", made from hops, was brewed privately in the town.

It is assumed that "most Cape homes with social pretensions" followed the practice of using a serving table for the dispensation of drinks, decanting from a bottle or flagon to a wine-jug, then pouring it into a wineglass to be carried to the diner on a small salver (Woodward 1982:132). This would account for the number of glass and stoneware bottles and tankards, stoneware jugs and mugs and other miscellaneous little pots and jars in the assemblage, and little tables encountered in the inventories, certain of which have been particularized as "schenktafeltje" or "schenc tafelje". By the later 18th century, according to Samual Eusebius Hudson (Shell 1993:134), a table with a tea and coffee urn was placed in the long hall running from the entrance to the court behind it, coffee, tea, water, wine or gin and bitters being the first presentation to all visitors, invariably throughout the day.

Warm beverages

The "soft drink" industry, characterized by beverages such as tea, coffee and chocolate, developed from the 17th century onwards in Europe (Sheaf and Kilburn 1988:102). Other than alcoholic beverages, locally, the lady of the house made tea and coffee at a side-table at meal-times, and these beverages were handed around by slaves (Laidler 1952:77). The impact of tea-drinking is significantly registered in the assemblage under study. However, caudle (sweetened or spiced ale

or wine), chocolate and coffee were known before tea in Europe and hence probably also at the Cape (Woodward 1982:218). Caudle could be drunk from any small bowl and this is therefore difficult to ascertain archaeologically but it is rarely referred to in documentary evidence. One exception is mention of a caudle-like drink served in the hospital, as previously referred to (Mentzel 1921:112).

Chocolate and coffee:

Chocolate and coffee cups with handles are only occasionally encountered in the inventories, and only two specimens has been identified in the sample. One of the specimens is plain white and the other decorated in polychrome, the latter evidently costing approximately one-and-a-half times the price of the usual blue-and-white, and cups with handles were generally almost twice the price of those without (Sheaf and Kilburn 1988:105-107;111). Handled cups have been mostly tied in with the consumption of chocolate, but it was not uncommon to use either cups with or without handles. Although progress has been made in differentiating between the sizes of coffee and tea vessels, the matter is still complicated and the local situation requires further clarification due to the fragmentary nature of the sample.

Despite the lack of evidence of items which can be confirmed as coffee cups or bowls, Woodward (1982:220) believes that coffee was beginning to make impressive advances by the beginning of the 18th century and Malan (1993:153) has noted that it began to rival tea between 1748-1780. Three coffee mills are recorded in the three Parade inventories as well as six coffee pots in contrast to nine teapots or tea kettles, and seven copper/brass coffee mugs (Table 7). Even though tea is not mentioned in the pantry of Von Dessin in 1754, 274 pounds of coffee beans are listed (Coetzee 1977:70).

Mentzel mentions how, when Allemann was living among the country people at the Cape after his arrival in the first quarter of the 18th century, he had become accustomed to having tea and coffee between meals (1919:42). In this context tea and coffee are mentioned on an equal footing

as they are too in the context of being amply supplied to Mentzel himself when he was appointed as the teacher to Herr Allerman's children (Mentzel 1919:98; 100). This is not surprising considering the fact that tea and sugar, or allowances for this purpose, were expected as part of the terms of employment by even the domestic servant in Europe by the mid-18th century (Emmerson 1992:7-13). By this time, tea could be described almost as a necessity at all levels of society, without any particular fixed time or occasion, but how this applies to coffee and to the Cape remains to be seen.

Locally, in the countryside, coffee was also consumed at breakfast (Raven-Hart 1976:30). In the Company Hospital, on the present-day corner of Adderley and Wale Streets, patients were offered coffee from a copper kettle after the doctor had done his early-morning rounds, and tea was served in the afternoons (Mentzel 1921:112). Later in the century, in a letter dated 1797, Lady Anne Bernard described what she had seen on her travels,

> "...what is universal in this country - a constant drinking of coffee going forwards - it is to be found boiling on the table over charcoal all day long...next morning we were up betimes, and the first thing we were offerd, was coffee again - a second time also" (Robinson 1973:85-86).

The point illustrated here is that although the consumption of coffee appears to have been as significant as tea, the drinking vessels were obviously not specifically handled coffee cups, because these are lacking in the assemblage. This is not inconceivable considering that the indiscriminate use of teapots for dispensing coffee has also been suggested and that there was originally no difference between tea and coffee drinking vessels in the twenties and thirties of the 18th century (Emmerson 1992:21; Lunsingh Scheurleer 1974:107-108).

What has become apparent, though, is the use of "slop-basins" associated with the drinking of coffee as indicated in the Company Hospital, where a slop-basin full of coffee could be purchased for one stuiver, and this was also apparently used for tea in this context (Mentzel 1921:112).

What is classified as a slop-basin? Slop-bowls or slop-basins were usually part of a tea-service for receiving the dregs or rinsings of teacups or tea bowls at the table (Savage and Newman 1974:266).

It might be worthwhile to consider here that the brown-glazed porcelain bowls have been referred to by some as "hotelware", and that one of the first references to this type as "coffeehouse wares" was mentioned in 1752 (Sheaf *et al* 1988:112). The latter were somewhat heavier, coarser and larger bowls, which may be accounted for by the brown-glazed bowls, most of which are lacking in matching saucers in the sample. Were these the type of slop-basins locally used? The wastage and discard rate at the more commercial establishments, such as coffee houses, may account for their presence in the sample. However, these specimens are still far outnumbered by the larger bowls in blue-and-white which were also probably utilized as slop-bowls. Most of the polychrome teawares, however, consisted of small bowls, and these invariably had an almost equal number of saucers to go with them in the sample.

Tea-drinking:

The evidence of tea-drinking, on the other hand, indicates that it was certainly well-established by the mid-18th century at the Cape. It has not been possible to differentiate between specific occasions for coffee or tea, but from the references it may be assumed that both were offered as a matter of hospitality. At the Company Hospital, however, coffee was served in the mornings and tea in the afternoons (Mentzel 1921:112; 1925:106) and coffee is mentioned as being served after supper by the average burgher in town. Tea was one of the most valuable single trade commodities handled by the VOC around the mid-18th century (Boxer 1966:177; Godden 1979:105) and appears at the forefront of fashion in the Cape scene, adopted at every level of Cape society already by the 1690's (Woodward 1982:215).

The first porcelain made at Meissen and Vienna were reserved for the nobility and well-to-do (Emmerson 1992:18; Lunsingh Scheurleer 1974:100-106). There was a strong demand for

Chinese teawares in Europe and the continued use of teabowls without handles may be related to its compactness in packing for transportation. The essential teabowls, those which could risk getting wet, were packed at the bottom of the ship as ballast, for "flooring the hold", and the tea which had to remain dry, was packed on top. Tea utensils were shipped in far larger quantities in the 18th century than in the preceding one.

In 1730, for example, the bills of lading for the 'Coxhoorn' included 100 teapots, 124 595 cups and saucers, of which 13 805 were brown-and-blue, 490 tea services, of which 324 were enamelled and 176 were completely white (Lunsingh Scheurleer 1974:100-106). The high percentage of enamelled-ware and the mention of brown-and-blue wares are of interest because of the significant presence of these types in the Parade assemblage. Whiteware, on the contrary, does not feature as important in the local sample of this time. In 1758, 24 958 sets of tea- or coffee-wares were brought to the Netherlands on board the ship named 'Sloten' and two sizes are mentioned, middle size and a smaller size, as well as tea services. Again, this is relevant to the Parade assemblage because of the variable sizes encountered, and the reference to the use of slop-bowls of the bigger variety, well represented in the sample, for drinking purposes.

By the mid-18th century the tea table had a kettle, teapot, slop bowl and cups and saucers on it, only to be joined by teaspoons, milk jugs and sugar basins later in the century (Emmerson 1992:22; Malan 1993:153; Sheaf and Kilburn 1988:104). Random purchases of bowls and saucers, not complete sets, appears to have been the order of the day around this time. The elements of the tea service started crystallizing around 1770 to include 12 teacups and saucers, 6 coffee cups, teapot with cover and stand, sugar dish with cover and stand, slop basin and stand, tea canister and cover, milk-pot and cover and a spoon tray, forty-three pieces becoming something of a standard number.

Most of the teapots or tea-kettles in the Parade inventories were accompanied by braziers and at least one silver teapot and a silver sugar/candy box has been noted as well as a barrel of tea found

in the kitchen (Table 7; Appendix A3). The latter appears to indicate that, contrary to Europe where the tea jars, canisters and caddies with the expensive tea were only becoming outmoded by the 1830s, tea-making then moving to the domain of the servants in the kitchen. This may have already been the practice at the Cape in the 18th century. Was the price of tea cheaper at the Cape and therefore less preciously stored in the kitchen, or was this the cheaper servant supply? Did the slaves participate in tea-drinking?

Silver teaware is not often listed in the local probate data until well into the 18th century (Malan 1993:180; Woodward 1982:216). However, the facts that teawares do occur and that a number of silversmiths were already listed at the Cape, indicates the respect accorded to the tea ritual. Unfortunately not a single one of the "conversation" pieces, paintings of families gathered informally, often depicting the use of the teaware assemblages under discussion here (Sheaf and Kilburn 1988:102), has been found relating directly to the Cape of the mid-18th century. These paintings are usually extremely valuable for their information on how the tea-table wares were actually put together and handled. Their absence in the local collections is rather surprising, and different to the European situation.

The excavated assemblage certainly reflects this scenario, with an emphasis on porcelain tea bowls, cups and saucers. The lack of teaspoons, creamers and sucriers (sugar basins and sugar boxes) is evidenced in both inventory and sample data, but this does not mean that milk or cream and sugar were not used. In the English context, sugar in whatever form, despite being very dear, was customarily used. Mentzel claims that women at the Cape, like those in the Netherlands, had bad teeth (1944:104). This, he believed, was due to the sugar-candy they held in their mouths when drinking tea or coffee. And so it would appear that sugar was indeed used, but in a way perhaps not requiring teaspoons. However, the lack of creamers and sucriers is still not explained, unless no particular items were locally used for these purposes at this time or the difficulties with obtaining fresh milk as previously discussed, is considered as one of the possible explanations.

The supposition that milk was not drunk in tea before 1720 (Emmerson 1992:15), and the possibility of a delay in adopting this custom at a local level, should also be taken into account. Later, after 1780, probate data indicate that specialized ceramic articles became more popular and milk jugs are specified among these as well as sugar basins, however in silver or plate (Malan 1993:155).

Descriptions of tables, specifically for the taking of tea, appear with regularity in the inventories from as early as the third quarter of the 17th century, sometimes in a room especially furnished for the popular tea-party (Woodward 1982:133). At times, the tea-table was described as permanently arrayed with tea-ware. It should be noted here that, according to Emmerson (1992:15-17), the equipages were placed on a tray known as the "tea table", which is sometimes confused with the wooden table itself on which the tray stood. The "tea table" was sometimes made in silver and later on, four legs were added.

The question of tea sets found mainly in the "voorhuis" in rural settings in contrast to the "galdery" in the Table Valley, is explained somewhat by the following. Probate data indicate that the "voorhuis" was invariably where rural hospitality was offered (Malan 1993:75). Apart from a few select farm houses out of town, the "voorhuis" in rural houses between 1740-1780 was the locality in which meals were taken and porcelain and pewter were exhibited. The continued use of the "voorhuis" in this manner is indicated in depictions of Cape interiors and contemporary comments into the 19th century, long after their urban counterparts were moving towards more specialized dining-rooms and drawing rooms after the British fashion of the period. This would appear to support Elphick and Giliomee's contention that cultural differentiation developed on a regional basis between rural and urban contexts (1979:155-169), noticeable in the local tea ceremony.

Oriental porcelain was the main teaware of the 18th century, because of its practical qualities as well as its exotic associations (Emmerson 1992:28). The types of teaware in use, as portrayed by

the local inventories, included porcelain tea bowls without handles, and saucers in a variety of blue and white, brown and the more expensive polychrome decorated wares (Woodward 1982:218). Teaware appears to have to have been found in much greater variety than dinnerware. All the aforementioned is also true of the sample. The social importance of the tea ceremony at the Cape is supported by the abundance of teabowls and saucers among the more expensive polychromes found in the sample and the use of silver. A number of different shapes of teabowls, such as those with walls slightly curved, straight-sided, moulded, those with flared lips and scalloped rims, is all encountered in the sample, and the variety is therefore fairly extensive.

Saucers feature prominently in the archaeological data, and as described by Woodward, were not necessarily matching nor did they have a depression to steady the cups or bowls. This could lend support the argument that the saucers were also used on their own for drinking the traditional "dish of tea" (Lunsingh Scheurleer 1974:104; Woodward 1982:218). It has been written that even the Governor, during informal visiting, after smoking a pipe of tobacco and talking to the ladies, "...drank a couple of dishes of tea..." and friends visiting one another were offered a "dish of tea" as a matter of course (Mentzel 1919:68; 1925:105). However, a counter argument presented suggests that the first use of the saucer is believed to have been to cool the tea, the earlier ones being deeper. It was then fashionable to drink from them as well. Later on, during the 18th century, it was not considered polite to do this, although this varied between class and country (Emmerson 1992:19;20; Sheaf and Kilburn 1988:102;111). Ladies in India were allowed to continue cooling their tea in the saucers and informal occasions are portrayed with tea being consumed from saucers. If acceptable for India, did the same apply to the Cape? The debate as to how this affected the local situation in the 18th century is not conclusive.

Woodward's contention that matching teapots were seldom used and that red stoneware was much preferred, is also supported by the archaeological data. The problem about sets is still evident in the later part of the century when complaints about heavy financial losses were reported related to sets being "falsely packed" in a variety of patterns (Emmerson 1992:21). The presence

of silver, gold and copper/brass in regard to tea-drinking accessories as evidenced in the Parade inventories, but because of its recycle value, is difficult to access archaeologically. Only a single fragment of what may be part of a little porcelain stand or tray in Imari, possibly for teaspoons or to go under the pot or jug, was found in the sample.

Generally speaking, Woodward's contention that Cape households were lavishly supplied with teaware is well-supported by the archaeological data. The main difference in the porcelain between the Parade assemblage and those of the *Geldermalsen* is in the percentages of the bowls, the variation being reduced somewhat by combining the smaller and larger bowls (Table 1.3). If the slop-bowls were indeed also used for drinking coffee and tea in the local context, as suggested by the hospital scene (Mentzel 1944:112), then it may be more appropriate to consider the larger and smaller bowls together. This is particularly valid in the case of the brown-glazed bowls and in view of the fact that coffee cups (bowls?) were also found to have been of the larger variety on the *Geldermalsen* (Jörg 1986:67).

There is no doubt that tea-drinking created a taste for the associated exotic utensils and the so-called "tea equipage" (Emmerson 1992:1-15). It became a mark of gracious living. It served as a diversion, to oil the wheels of society, to offer informal opportunities.

> "The ritual around the tea-table thus celebrated the genteel manners of the participants and reinforced the social bond between them...Fashionable design and good workmanship demonstrated one's taste and worldly substance, just as one's management of the tea ritual showed one's manners" (Emmerson 1992:14).

Locally, as in Europe, Chinese teaware allowed the opportunity to show off wealth and taste through the glamorous imported porcelain and the social ramifications implicit in the use of the fine assemblage, should not be underestimated.

Signatures of the Cape

One of the most glaring problems inhibiting the progress of ceramic analysis in local historical archaeological studies is the dire lack of suitably reported comparative local material, and closely tied in with this, the need for a systematic means of ordering the data to allow the interpretation of the cultural dynamics behind them. This poses a major constraint impeding the development of comparative research. This project is aimed at bridging the gap, beginning to systematize the vast quantity of excavated ceramics of the mid-18th century, as a tentative typological system to allow pattern recognition and variability within and between sites.

The changes in foodways is of profound importance and forms an integral part of a cultural tradition. The role of food in the study of society as a whole is cardinal to this discussion and it has been said,

> "People who eat strikingly different foods or similar foods in different ways are thought to be strikingly different...What we like, what we eat, how we eat it and how we feel about it...speak eloquently to the question of how we perceive ourselves in relation to others (S. Mintz quoted in Yentsch 1991:27).

Despite the relevance of the food domain as implicit in cultural interpretation, it is evident from this study that local research on the details of how and what was consumed, particularly in relation to historical archaeological work, has yet to be explored to its full capacity. Many of the related research projects proposed in this study fall outside the scope of this work, but would greatly have enhanced the accuracy and depth of this project. The Cape of the mid-18th century is far from studied in its totality, and until this is approached in a more holistic manner, there will remain more questions than answers.

It is abundantly clear that the inventory, archival, documentary and faunal information are all crucial to a better understanding of the local foodway tradition, and to recreating the cultural

context of the mid-18th century Cape. The artefacts, the ceramics in this study, were created and used in a social context, actively involved in structuring social interaction and social change. The ideological elements inherent in the artefacts are implicit, but can they be unmasked? Can we ever get to the minds of the makers or the users of the ceramics? Can we interpret their intentions? Can we prove that our interpretations are adequate or correct? The dialectic process between the artefacts as and when they were used in their original social context and later uncovered and interpreted in their archaeological context, remains speculative, in a sense, to use Anne Yentsch's words, "imprisoned by the limitations of their data" (1993:17).

In addition to all the constraints within which this project has proceeded, the relevance, feasibility and acceptability of rendering interpretations, particularly of an ideological, conceptual nature, based on an inadequate sample, stretched across centuries into the unverifiable gamut of the unconscious mind of a past society, is being questioned here.

Anne Yentsch believes that American ideology can be explored through the homes built in settled towns in the New World, and if one were to imagine replacing the concept of the house and the home with the idea of ceramics and the food domain,

> "...the structures have become symbols of European power to reform wilderness, turning natural space into cultural space, to take something remote, strange, and convert it into something familiar...In doing so, new social boundaries were created; some individuals were dispossessed, others were denigrated...A new ideology was formed...the message was vocal and unequivocal...and its origins lay in the culturally construed symbolic relationship between objects, ideas and power " (Yentsch 1993: 17-18).

What has been most striking in executing this project, is the absolute necessity for a multi-disciplinary, more holistic, integrated approach to the interpretation of the ceramics. The ideological element of the ceramic interpretations, as illustrated in Yentsch's work, although posing a much less tangible aspect of reality, is undoubtedly a crucial aspect of cultural

exploration. Of one other thing there is no doubt, there is no one-to-one explanation from cultural object to culture. The mid-18th century foodway tradition and its archaeological ramifications is a complicated web of interactions. Furthermore, the meaning of things is a dialectic between the artefact, its living context, and the mind of the interpreter, and this in itself is a minefield of exploration. In an attempt to define signatures of the Cape, is the question ,"What is typical of South African culture ?", any easier to answer today in a present-day context or when it is projected into the mid-18th century Cape?

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NOTES

1. Cape Archives : C1, Resolusies, 8 April 1652, pp. 6-8; C1317, Uitgaande Brieven, 13 May 1652, pp. 6-7; Ras (1959 : 8-10); Thom (1952 : 25).

2. Cape Archives : VC1, Daghregister, 9 April 1652, pp.66-68; 10 April 1652, p.68; C1317, Uitgaande Brieven, 18 April 1652, pp. 3-4; Ras (1959 : 11-12); Thom 1952 : 26-30).

3. Cape Archives : C1317, Uitgaande Brieven, 18 April 1652, p.3; 13 May 1652, p.7; Ras (1959 : 12); Thom (1952 : 29-33).

4. Cape Archives : (1317, Uitgaande brieven, 18 April 1652, p.5; 13 May 1652, p.7; VC1, Daghregister, 20 April 1652, p.78; 22 April 1652, p.79; Ras (1959 :12-13).

5. Cape Archives : VC1, Daghregister, 24 April 1652, p.80; 26 April 1652, pp. 81-82; Ras (1959 : 13), Thom (1952 : 33-35).

6. Cape Archives : VC1, Daghregister, 30 April 1652, pp. 87-88; Ras (1959 : 14); Thom (1952 : 34-37).

7. Cape Archives : VC1, Daghregister, 7 May 1652, p.91; 12 May 1652, p.94; C1, Resolusies, 11 May 1652, pp. 11-12; C1317, Uitgaande Brieven, 13 May 1652, p.7, p.13; Ras (1959 : 14-15); Thom (1952 : 38-40).

8. Cape Archives : C1317, Uitgaande Brieven, 13 May 1652, pp. 13-14; VC1, Daghregister, 15 May 1652, pp. 95-96; Ras (1959 : 15); Thom (1952 : 39-40).

9. Cape Archives : VC1, Daghregister, 28 May 1652, p. 102; 3 June 1652, P.105; 6 June 1652, p.106; 7 June 1652, p.108; 19 June 1652, pp.115-116; Ras (1959 : 15-16); Thom (1952 : 42-45).

10. Cape Archives : VC1, Daghregister, 9 June 1652, p.109; 19 June 1652, pp. 115-116; 3 Aug. 1652, p.139; Ras (1959 : 16-17).

11. Cape Archives : VC1, Daghregister, 3 Aug. 1652, p.139; 25-28 Sept. 1652, pp.162-169; 2-3 Oct. 1652, pp. 174-175; 10 Oct. 1652, p.191; C2391, Attestatien, 26 Sept. 1652, pp. 61-362 ; C1, Resolusies, 13 Aug. 1652, p.14; Ras (1959 :17); Thom (1952 : 54-65).

12. Cape Archives : VC1, Daghregister, 21 Oct. 1652, pp.203-204; 29 Oct. 1652, p.210; Ras (1959 :17-18); Thom (1952 : 75-78).

13. Cape Archives : C1870, Daghregister, 11 Dec.1652, p.37; Ras (1959 : 18); Thom (1952 : 78;120; 121).

14. Cape Archives : C1870, Daghregister, 18 Jan. 1653, p.74; C274, Inkomende Brieven, 20 April 1652, pp.55-56; 24 July 1652, pp.60-64; Ras (1959 : 18- 19).

15. Cape Archives : C1, Resolusies, 19 Jan. 1653, p.35; C1870, Daghregister, 23 Jan. 1653, p.76; 12 Feb. 1653, p.80; 8 March 1653, p.426; C274, Inkomende Brieven, 4 Dec. 1651, p.27; p.29; C1317, Uitgaande Brieven, 14 April 1653, p.63; Ras (1959 :19-20).

16. Cape Archives : C1317, Uitgaande Brieven, 14 April 1653, pp.51-53; VC1, Daghregister, 30 May 1654, p.264; Ras (1959 : 20-21).

17. Cape Archives : C1317, Uitgaande Brieven, 9 April 1653, p.100; 4 May 1653, p.118; p.122; 13 Oct. 1653, p.171; C1870, Daghregister, 13 May 1653; p.108; 26 found at Grand Parade. 21 January 1991b. May 1653, p.107; Ras (1959 : 21-22).

18. Cape Archives : C1317, Uitgaande Brieven, 9 June 1653, p.129; 22 Aug. 1653, p.147; 13 Oct. 1653, p.170; 31 Dec. 1653, p.181; C1870, Daghregister, 28-30 May 1654, p.264; 10 June 1654, p.264; Ras (1959 : 22-23).

19. Cape Archives : C1870, Daghregister, 15 Aug. 1654,p.290; 16 Nov. 1654, p.317 : Ras (1959 : 23).

20. Cape Archives : C1870-C1871, Daghregister, 10-12 June 1655, p.283; 9 Feb., 1656 C1, Resolusies, 17 Oct. 1657, p.252; Elphick (1977 : 112); Ras (1959 : 24-25); Thom (1952 : 315-325).

21. Cape Archives : C700, Memorien en Instructien,16 April 1657, pp.10-11; 18 March 1658, p.29-30;C1, Resolusies, 17 Oct. 1657, p.258; 26 Aug. 1660,pp.581-582; C1870, Daghregister, 10 March 1660, 313; 27 Aug. 1660, p.460; Ras (1959 : 25-27).

22. Cape Archives : C1, Resolusies, 5 April 1661, p.626; 15 May 1662, pp.694-695; C1874, Daghregister, 13 June 1661, p.746; Ras (1959 : 27-28).

23. Cape Archives : C1322, Uitgaande Brieven, 15 Sept. 1662, pp.142-151; 24 Sept. 1663, p.416; C700, Memorien en Instructien, 22 Sept. 1662. pp. 125-133; 6 April 1663, pp. 137-145; Ras (1959 :p.28).

24. Cape Archives : C700, Memorien en Instructien, 7 Sept. 1663, pp. 150-157; C1324, Uitgaande Brieven, 21 Nov. 1663, p.525; p.528; Ras (1959 : 29-31).

25. Cape Archives : C1326, Uitgaande Brieven, 26 Sept. 1664, p.741; Ras (1959 : 31).

26. Cape Archives : C1327, Uitgaande Brieven, 14 Jan.1665, p.776; C2, Resolusies, 3 Aug. 1665, p.90; 23 May 1667, p.167; 17 Jan. 1671, p.468; Ras (1959 : 31-32).

27. Cape Archives : VC6, Daghregister, 13 July 1671, p.117; VC6, Daghregister, 2 Jan. 1673, p.304; VC7, Daghregister, 7, 18 June 1674, pp. 148-155; C1344, Uitgaande brieven, 10 May 1673, pp.545-546; 17 Sept. 1673, p.783; C3, Resolusies, 2 May 1674.

APPENDIX A1

MOOC 8/6 No.119 (1-9) 1745

Inventory of the deceased Isabella Hasewinkel who lived in the city block D4 in the "Tafelvalley" (Table Bay Valley), site adjoining onto the Grand Parade west corner (Wentzel 1751 from Picard 1968:38).

In the room on the right hand side
- 1 cabinet on which there are
  - 8 porcelain little bowls
  - 7 porcelain little beakers ("beekertjes")
  - 1 porcelain basin/bowl with lid ("kom")
- In the aforementioned ("voorse") cabinet
  - 18 silver spoons
  - 18 silver forks
  - 1 silver soup spoon
  - 4 silver "confituurleepeltjes"
  - 3 silver forks
  - 2 silver salt cellars ("soutvaatjes")
  - 2 silver pepper cannisters ("peeperbussen")
  - 1 silver mustard pot
  - 2 silver trays/salvers
- 1 shelf with porcelain
- 4 japanned/lacquered little bowls ("verlakte")
- 1 table

In the room on the left hand side
- 1 wardrobe ("kleerkas") on which there are
  - 6 porcelain little bowls
  - 3 porcelain beakers
  - 3 little jugs/tankards
- 2 little tables
- 1 "suyplaatje" with flints (little side plate?)

In the hall/dining room ("galdery")
- 5 shelves on which there are
  - 40 porcelain plates
  - 16 porcelain bowls in kind
- 3 tables
- 3 copper/brass coffee pots ("koffykannen")
- 2 copper/brass tea kettles with 2 braziers/chafing dishes
- 1 copper/brass "bottelgreep"
- 1 copper/brass grater
- 1 copper/brass bell ("schel")
- 7 copper/brass firepans
- 2 copper/brass tart pans with lids ("taertepannen")
- 1 copper/brass "poffer" pan
- 6 small copper/brass spittoons
- 6 large copper/brass spittoons
- 1 copper/brass ham boiler/cauldron
- 1 copper/brass beer boiler/cauldron
- 1 copper/brass colander ("vergiettest")
- 1 copper/brass skimmer pan ("schuymspan")
- 1 copper/brass baking pan ("koekepan")
- 1 copper/brass pestle with mortar
- 1 copper/brass ewer ("lampet") with iron feet
- 1 iron balance with a wooden scale
- 1 iron meat hanger ("vleeskroon")
- 1 iron cleaver ("kapmes")
- 1 iron chopping knife ("hakmes") with board
- 1 iron grid
- 4 iron pots 1 iron "tang" (tongs?)
- 1 blowpipe ("blaaspyp")
- 3 chimney chains
- 1 trivet ("treeft")
- 1 "waterhalfaam"
- 2 buckets
- some earthenware ("parthy")
- 2 coffee mills ("koffymoolens")
- 2 pewter tin boxes ("blicke trommels")
- 1 pewter bedpan ("steekbechen")
- 25 pewter plates
- 13 pewter dishes in kind
- 6 pewter casks ("vatenpotten")

In the kitchen
- 1 rice block/mortar with pestle ("rystblok met stamper")
- 1 table

In the gallery room ("galderycamer)
- 1 little table
- 1 glass cupboard ("glaasekas")
- 7 table knives
- 8 forks

In the loft/attic
- some bottles and flasks
- 1 porcelain chamber pot
- 1 silver spoon
- 1 silver fork
- 1 knife and fork with "hartshoorehegtery"
- 1 silver spoon
- 1 silver fork
- 1 silver beaker
- 1 silver spoon and fork
- 1 silver spoon
- 1 silver fork

A note of interest, in the list of items in the loft, apart from the first three items on the list (bottles, flasks and a chamber pot), the rest are mostly listed in four lots left to the four children of the deceased. Each lot starts with a number of slaves, and with each lot of slaves, the following were left, a bed, pillows and cushions, gold, silver and diamond jewelery, a gold or silver bound "psalmboek" and a silver spoon and fork.

APPENDIX A2

MOOC 8/7 No. 58 (1-6) 1750

Inventory of the deceased Adam Mulder who lived in the city block D:D in the "Tafelvalley" (Table Bay Valley), site adjoining onto the Grand Parade west corner (Wentzel 1751 from Picard 1968:38).

In the room on the right hand side
- 1 cupboard on which there is 1 set of porcelain

In the room on the left hand side
- 1 chest with 3 silver spoons
- 1 silver fork
- 1 silver salt cellar
- 1 large cupboard on which there is a set of porcelain

In the kitchen
- 3 copper/brass coffee pots ("koffykannen")
- 3 copper/brass kettles/cauldrons/boilers ("keetels")
- 1 copper/brass brazier/chafing dish ("confoor")
- 1 copper/brass tart pan ("taertepan") with lid
- 6 copper/brass spittoons ("quispidoors")
- 2 copper/brass candlesticks ("kandelaars")
- 1 copper/brass kettle/cauldron/boiler
- 2 copper/brass taps
- 2 copper/brass scales with a balance
- 2 copper/brass candlesticks ("nagtblaakers")
- 1 copper/brass skimmer pan ("scuymspaan")
- 1 copper/brass casserole ("castrol")
- 1 copper/brass mortar ("vysel")
- 2 copper/brass pans with long handle ("staartpannetjes")
- 1 copper/brass funnel ("tregter")
- 2 copper/brass fire pans ("vuurtesjes")
- 1 copper/brass beaker
- 1 copper/brass coffee mill ("coffymoole")
- 2 pewter dishes
- 1 pewter bowl/basin ("kom")
- 2 pewter jugs/tankards ("kannen")
- 1 pewter teapot/kettle ("trekpot")
- 2 pewter trays/salvers
- 5 iron pots
- 1 iron brazier/chafing dish ("comfoor")
- 1 iron baking pan
- 1 iron serving spoon ("schepleepel")
- 2 choppers/cleavers ("chapmessen")
- 2 chimney chains
- 1 water can ("gieter")
- 13 porcelain plates
- 15 porcelain dishes
- 2 earthenware cooking pots
- 2 food cupboards ("eetenskasjes")
- 1 kitchen table
- 3 water buckets
- 1 "sheutsenpot"

In the store/warehouse
- 1 mantavan
- 1 chopping board ("hakbord")
- some glasses ("kelken")
- some bottles

In the loft/attic
- 2 glass carboys ("carbassen")
- 1 porcelain carboy
- 1 some empty flagons/flasks ("flessen")
- 1 big balance with a wooden scale
- 1 empty cellaret
- 1 "overkeerbort"
- 1 grid iron ("rooster")

APPENDIX A3

MOOC 8/9 No. 41 (1-25) 1755

Inventory of the deceased Aletta van den Bergh who lived in the city block R1 and R2 in the "Tafelvalley" (Table Bay Valley), site adjoining onto the Grand Parade west corner (Wentzel 1751 from Picard 1968:38).

In the room on the left hand side
- 4 pedestal tables ("gerridons")
- 1 japanned/lacquered bowl
- 1 cabinet ("cantoor") on which there are some glasses
- 1 cabinet ("cabinet") on which there is
  - 1 set of porcelain
- 1 cabinet on which there is
  - 1 set of porcelain

In the front hall ("voorhuijs")
- 10 candlesticks ("blakers")
- 2 sets of porcelain
- 1 table

In the room on the right hand side
- 6 candlesticks ("blakers")
- 1 pedestal table ("gerridon")
- 3 tables
- 2 copper/brass fire tongs
- 1 cupboard on which there are
  - 4 big porcelain jugs ("commers") with lids and in which there is some glassware ("glasswerke")
- 1 cabinet on which there is
  - 1 large set of porcelain
  - 2 (wooden?) japanned/lacquered chamber pots("waterpotten")

In the hall/dining room ("galderij")
- 4 tables
- 3 shelves with diverse teaware
- 4 shelves on which there are
  - 22 porcelain dishes
  - 39 porcelain plates
  - 2 porcelain jugs ("commers") with lids and dishes/bowls
- 1 glass cupboard in which there are
  - 2 porcelain tableware sets ("tafelstellens")
  - 2 porcelain flasks ("flessen")

In the first gallery room/dining room("eerste galdery camer")
- 2 shelves on which there are
  - 18 porcelain plates
  - 1 table

In second gallery room/dining room ("tweede galdery camer")
- 2 shallow bowls ("vlakte bakyes")
- 1 close stool/commode ("camerstelletje")
- 2 tables
- 1 new copper/brass pestle and mortar

In third gallery room/dining room ("derde galdery camer")
- 5 shallow bowls ("vlakte bakjes")
- 1 cupboard ("bovet?..kas") on which there are
  - 4 jugs ("commen")
  - 1 set of porcelain

  and in which there are
  - some coarse bowls ("commen")
  - 9 table knives
  - 4 pewter dishes
  - 4 copper/brass candlesticks ("kandelaars")
  - 2 copper/brass chamber candlesticks ("blakers")
  - 1 "casse" with diverse teaware ("theigoet")
- 1 cupboard with some porcelain in kind

In the pantry ("bottellery")
- some empty flasks and bottles
- some earthenware/pottery ("aardewerk")
- 1 vat of coconut oil ("clapperoly")
- 1 cellaret with flasks ("keld met flessen")

In the kitchen
- 30 copper/brass spittoons
- 7 copper/brass table braziers/chafing dishes ("confoor")
- 5 copper/brass tea ketels with 3 braziers
- 3 copper/brass dish hoops ("tafelringe")
- 1 copper/brass pestle and mortar
- 1 copper/brass passage candlestick ("gangblakertje")
- 6 copper/brass coffee mugs/jugs? ("cannen")
- 1 copper/brass chocolate mug/jug? ("cannen")
- 1 copper/brass candlestick
- 5 copper/brass wall candlestick ("hangblaker")
- 9 copper/brass candlesticks ("kandelaars")
- 2 copper/brass tart pans ("taartepannetjes") and lids
- 2 copper/brass taps
- 2 copper/brass casseroles
- 1 copper/brass "pofferpan" (pan for making "poffertjies")
- 1 copper/brass frying pan ("braadpan")
- 3 copper/brass kettles/cauldrons/boilers and lids ("ketels en deksels") 1 copper/brass beaker
- 1 barrel with tea ("vat")
- 1 barrel of barley ("geerst")
- 1 bag of corks ("kurken")
- some tubs/vats ("comm.")

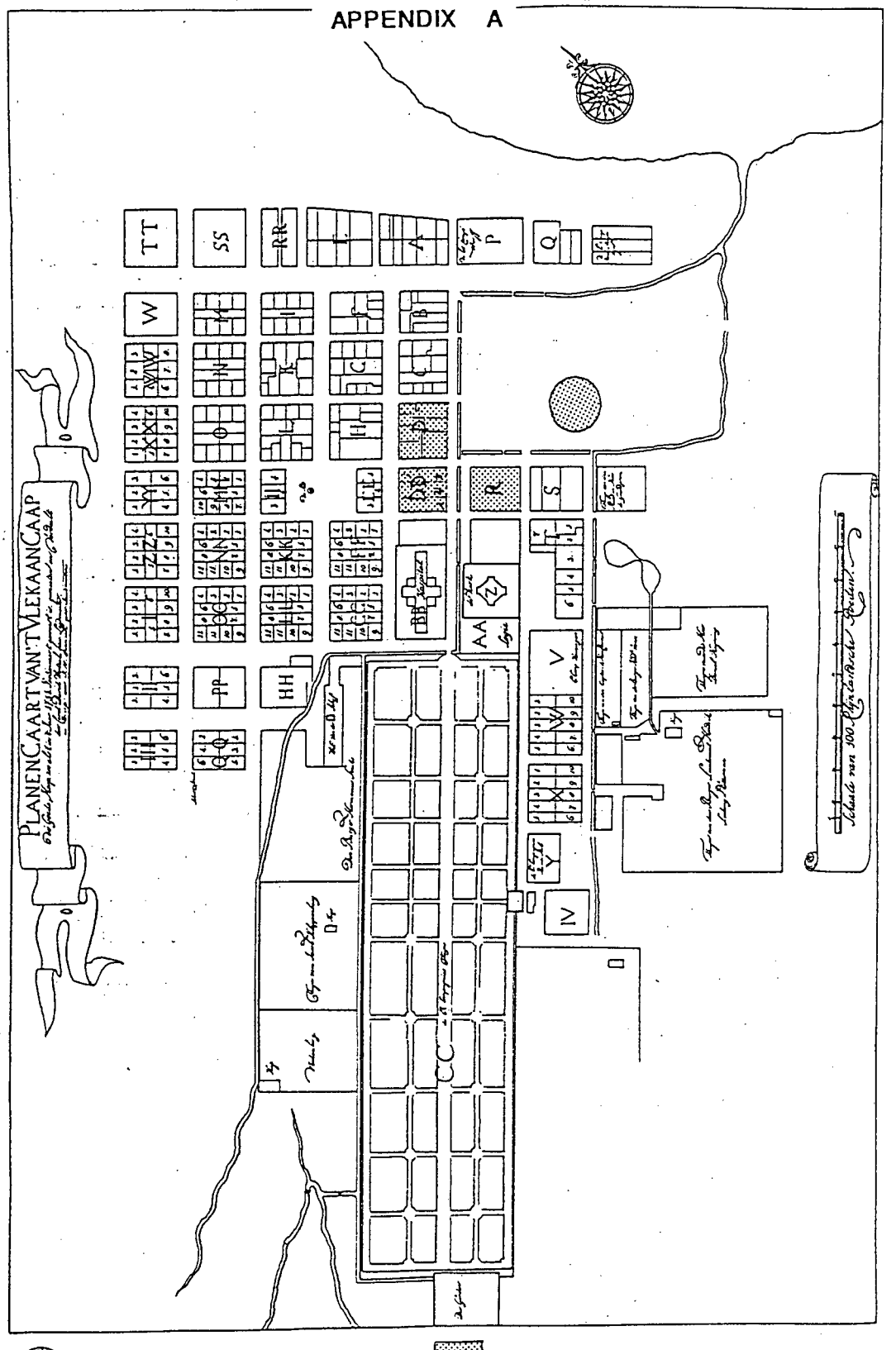
In the back yard ("agter plaats")
- 1 martavan
- 3 tubs ("balys")

In the warehouse/store ("pakhuijs")
- 4 barrels ("stukvaten")
- 6 empty casks ("leedige leggers")

Jewellery, gold and silver
- 4 silver candlesticks ("kandelaars")
- 4 silver salt cellars
- 1 silver chafing dish/brazier ("confoor")
- 1 silver teapot/kettle ("trekpot")
- 1 silver mustard pot
- 1 silver sugar/candy box ("zuijkerdoos")
- 1 silver slop bowl ("spoelbakye") with 3 little spoons and
- 2 little forks
- 1 silver soup ladle ("soupleepel")
- 1 silver "springkooker"
- 20 silver spoons
- 15 silver forks
- 11 knifes with silver handles
- 3 silver trays/salvers

A fourth gallery room/dining room ("vierde galdery camer") is listed but this only had paintings and a pipe rack in it, no porcelain or ceramics at all.

APPENDIX A



Map of 1751 by Wentzel showing "Vlek aan Kaap" and indicating locations of recorded inventories and site of excavated sample.

APPENDIX B

Species	Block A	nisp	mni	Comm	Block J3b	nisp	mni	Comm	C5/C4	nisp	mni	Comm	Grand Total (nisp)	Grand Total (mni)
Oryctolagus cuniculus Rabbit		0	0			26	4	2x small babies		0	0		26	4
Lepus capensis Cape hare		3	1			1	1			0	0		4	2
Leporidae Indet Rabbit/Hare		0	0			0	0			2	1		2	1
Muridae Indet Rat/Mouse		0	0			2	1			0	0		2	1
Felis sp. Cat/African wild cat		1	1			1	1			0	1	juv	2	3
Mirounga leonina Southern Elephant seal		1	1	?sealer/ beached		0	0			0	0		1	1
Sus scrofa Pig		0	0			1	1			0	0		1	1
Sylvicapra grimmia Common duiker		2	1			25	3			2	1		29	5
Raphicerus spp. Grysbok, Steenbok		13	2			16	2			2	1		31	5
Ovis aries Sheep		250	10			467	16			145	5		862	31
Bos taurus Cattle		2	1			86	4	1 calf		16	1		104	6
Spheniscus demersus Jackass penguin		2	2	1 juv		1	1			1	1		4	4
Diomedeidae Indet Albatross		1	1	RA, cut, ? LSA		0	0			0	0		1	1
Procellariidae Indet Petrel/Shearwater		1	1			0	0			0	0		1	1
Francolinus africanus Greywing francolin		0	0			2	1			0	0		2	1
Gallus gallus Domestic fowl		4	3			73	9	3 chicks		5	2		82	14
Anatidae Indet Goose/Swan		0	0			3	1			0	0		3	1
Anatidae Indet Duck medium		0	0			3	1			1	1		4	2
Anatidae Indet Duck small		0	0			3	1			0	0		3	1
Chersine angulata Angulate tortoise		0	0			2	1			0	0		2	1
Xenopus laevis		0	0			39	5			0	0		39	5
Rhabdosargus cf globiceps White stumpnose		0	0			13	1			0	0		13	1
Fish indet		3	1			32	1			3	1		38	3
Totals		283	28			796	66			177	16		1256	96

The relative abundance of various taxa identified in the Parade sample (nisp=number of identified specimens; mni=minimum number of individuals).

APPENDIX C

SPECIES	I3a (mni)	J3b (mni)	COMMENT	GRAND TOTAL
Perna perna	3	65	Brown mussels	68
Patella argenvillei		34	Limpets	34
Choromytilis meridionalis	2	21	Black mussels	23
Oxystele tigrina	1	11	Periwinkles	12
Ostrea atherstonei		10	Oysters	10
Burnupena sp		7		7
Patella barbara		7		7
Patella granatina		7		7
Patella indet		6		6
Patella oculus		4		4
Haliotis midae	1	2		3
Donax serra		2		2
Lutraria lutraria		2		2
Patella cochlear		2		2
Turbo cidaris		2		2
Bullia laevissima		1		1
Patella compressa		1		1
Patella granularis	1			1
Patella tabularis	1			1
Tonna sp	1		exotic	1
Venerupis corrugata		1		1
	10	185		195

Minimum number of individuals represented in shellfish remains from the Parade assemblage.